DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 024 505

RC 002 795

By- Hagen, E.E.; Schaw, Louis C.

The Sioux on the Reservations: The American Colonial Problem.

Massachusetts Inst. of Tech., Cambridge. Center for International Studies.

Pub Date May 60

Note- 233p.

EDRS Price MF-$1.00 HC-$11.75

Descriptors- Acculturation, American History, *American Indians, *Economic Factors, Economic Status, Educational Programs, *Historical Reviews, Migration Patterns, *Psychological Studies, Sociocultural Patterns, *Socioeconomic Influences

Identifiers- Pine Ridge Reservation, Rosebud Reservation, *Sioux

A study conducted by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology examined problems surrounding the socioeconomic and cultural status of the Sioux on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Indian reservations. Study of economic status revealed the similarity of Indian problems to those faced by emerging underdeveloped colonial or ex-colonial peoples around the world. The study deals with the effects of the Bureau of Indian Affairs program to resettle the Indians in urban environments, and the projected effects on the reservation populations. Problems are examined from a historical-psychological perspective, and the study casts light on many of the problems concerning Indian relations with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The authors indicate that while the study deals exclusively with the Sioux, many of the problems discussed have a direct relevance to Indians of other tribes. (DK)

C/60-8

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1968
NMSU
E.R.I.C.

ED0 24505

THE SIOUX ON THE RESERVATIONS

E. E. Hagen and Louis C. Schaw

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS

RC 002795

C/60-8

THE SIOUX ON THE RESERVATIONS:
THE AMERICAN COLONIAL PROBLEM

E.E. Hagen and Louis C. Schaw

Preliminary Edition

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Center for International Studies
May 1960

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface

Part I. The Present Situation, and Some Recommendations for Change

1. The Purpose of the Study
2. The Reservations, the People, and their Income
3. History, Society, Culture, Personality: Origins of the Present Situation
4. Recommendations: Measures for Immediate Economic Improvement
5. Recommendations: Economic Measures for the Longer-Run
6. Facilitating Social Adaptation

Part II. Origins of the Problem: The Past in the Present

7. A Sketch of Sioux History
8. Teton-Dakota Society and Culture
9. The Teton Individual Within his Society
10. The Sioux Society in Captivity: Reservation Life.

PREFACE

The study of the problems of economic and general betterment of the Sioux on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Indian reservations of South Dakota which is reported on in this essay was conducted under a grant from the Fund for the American Indian, Incorporated, to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

One of the two authors, Louis C. Schaw, is a social-clinical psychologist; the other, Everett E. Hagen, is an economist. Before undertaking this study we had been engaged in the study of economic development in a number of "underdeveloped" societies. We suspected parallel problems, and hoped both that from an analysis of the problems of the Sioux we might gain new understanding of the process of economic and social development, and that by applying to the problems of the Sioux such insights as we thought we had gained in our work elsewhere, we might be helpful to them and to other Americans concerned with Indian affairs. Our first expectation has been amply fulfilled. We believe that some of our recommendations may prove controversial; we hope that they will also prove useful.

To many persons, the term "colonial" now has emotional connotations. We have used the term in the subtitle of our essay, however, not by way of criticism of the governmental administration of Indian affairs but to emphasize certain striking parallels. The problems faced by the Indians are remarkably similar to those faced by "underdeveloped" colonial or ex-colonial peoples on several continents, and the problems of relationships with the tribes with which officials of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs deal bear striking resemblances to those with which colonial administrators everywhere have had to cope.

The American "Indian problem" is not unique; it is only a special case of a world-wide class of problems.

We have termed this edition a preliminary one for two reasons. The lesser is that we hope that it may be possible to publish it in more durable form. The other is that, to avoid delay in its presentation to the Fund for the American Indian, we have prepared this multilithed version without previously submitting the draft to the many individuals who have been helpful to us in the study, in order that they might inform us of factual errors and express their disagreement with our analysis. We shall earnestly solicit criticism of both types.

Clyde Kluckhohn is the bridge between our studies of economic development in foreign countries and the present study. He had read two drafts of a manuscript by Mr. Hagen, presenting a theory of economic growth, which arose out of the larger study. He is a trustee of the Fund for the American Indian, and it was at his suggestion that Mr. K. Blyth Emmons, executive secretary of the Fund, approached one of the authors concerning the present study.

The participation of the two authors in the study has been as follows: Mr. Schaw spent two months on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations during November and December 1959, and January 1960, and Mr. Hagen spent one week there at the end of Mr. Schaw's visit. We entered upon these all too brief periods of first-hand observation of the problem with the benefit of acquaintance with a considerable number of writings about the American Indians, and conversations with a number of individuals whose acquaintance with the problem is much longer than our own. Mr. Hagen is the primary author of Part I and Mr. Schaw of Part II, but Mr. Schaw contributed a number of passages to Part I, Hagen served as general editor of the entire manuscript, and both subscribe fully to the analysis and conclusions of both parts.

The number of individuals for whose kindness we are indebted is great, and we have reluctantly decided not to express our indebtedness to each of them individually here. We would express our appreciation to Mr. K. Blyth Emmons for facilitating our work in numerous ways; to Mr. Glenn L. Emmons, United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to the officials who serve under him in the Washington offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for providing us with much information and for discussing their problems frankly and at length with Mr. Hagen; to Mr. Carl Eicher, who shared with us knowledge gained during his previous study of economic problems on the Pine Ridge and other Indian reservations; to Dr. Benjamin H. Reifel, director at the time of our study of the Aberdeen Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to the officials of the Aberdeen office and the Pine Ridge and Rosebud agencies whose thoughtfulness and considerateness facilitated our work; and to the tribal councils of the Rosebud and Pine Ridge tribes for aid to us and their courtesy in allowing us to conduct the study. Mr. Hagen would express especial indebtedness to Mr. Reifel for his thoughtfulness in making arrangements which enabled one week of field contacts to be enormously informative. Above all, we are grateful to the many individuals among the Sioux who extended to us their friendship and trust; only our belief in their resourcefulness and moral strength embolden us to make public our view of painful facts in their present condition as a contribution to their search for a better life.

Finally, we are grateful for the skillful work of Miss Gabrielle Fuchs under great time pressure, above and beyond the call of secretarial duty, in coordinating illegible copy and hieroglyphic notes into a completed text, footnotes, and bibliography.

E. E. Hagen
Louis C. Schaw

Cambridge, May 1960

PART I

THE PRESENT SITUATION, AND SOME RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CHANGE

Chapter 1. The Purpose of the Study

In 1956, the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates, some 350,000 American Indians were living on reservations, and another 80,000 in other American communities. Some other estimates run much higher. The rate of natural increase on the reservations is high, probably the highest of any ethnic or regional group in the nation,[1] even under conditions which both economically and socially must be said to be rather miserable. For as the Indian birth rate is the highest, their per capita income is the lowest of any important group in the nation. For many of them life has no savor; they are passive and apathetic.

A spontaneous though not large flow away from the reservations has undoubtedly been occurring for many years. Since 1952, it has been increased by a federal program vigorously administered to maximize voluntary out-migration.[2] But many Indians who leave the reservations return; the net outflow is certainly not as great as the natural increase in population.[3] Thus the population on many (perhaps all) reservations is still increasing. Economic opportunities on the reservations are not increasing equally. With the increase in population, economic conditions may be deteriorating slowly but steadily on many or most reservations.

This is true in spite of new vigor in recent years in actions by the federal government. Federal expenditures for Indian programs have increased markedly during the last half-dozen years. New programs and improvements in old programs have been instituted. Funds available for the relief of destitution have been increased. Health and medical programs have been expanded on a number of reservations. Opportunities for education may have been. The number of Indian children completing a high school education, and the number obtaining education beyond high school, are increasing.

An optimist might forecast that over the coming quarter or half century this increase in education will bring an exodus from the reservations that

---

1. Footnotes will be found at the end of each chapter.

will cause the remaining problems to take care of themselves. However, he would find skepticism concerning his forecast on the part both of confirmed critics of anything the federal government does concerning the Indians and of more impartial observers. The "Indian problem," a problem of long standing, remains with us.

Opinions concerning the appropriate solution vary between two extremes. On the one hand, some individuals, arguing that the integrity of Indian traditions must in equity be maintained, state that position in a tone which seems to imply that the departure of any Indian from his Indian group to take up life elsewhere in the American society is evil. In contrast are persons who assert that the Indian problem will be solved only when all Indians have been absorbed as individuals into the American society, and Indian communities have disappeared. Within this group are extremists who feel that the near-future termination of federal responsibility for Indian reservations would be desirable. They would leave the Indians to whatever economic and social aid their states and communities may choose and feel able to extend to them.

This study is based on neither preconception. The problem which the two authors of this report undertook to study was the route to improvement in the conditions of Indian life. We interpret that term broadly, to include not merely economic conditions. We conclude the study with the judgment that for many Indians, absorption into the larger American society will and should continue, and that programs to that end, so long as they do not oversell the prospects outside the reservations, should continue. But we conclude with a parallel conviction that for other Indians an ultimate prospect of life in a self-consciously Indian community related satisfactorily to the larger American scene in a way generally like that in which many ethnically and culturally unique American communities are so related, is an appropriate outcome.

We believe that the American government and the American public, out of a sense of obligation to the people whose lands we have occupied, and out of a sense of our own dignity, should foster the conditions which will make either outcome possible for each individual Indian, and should let the desires of individual Indians determine the choice. We shall discuss in later chapters the difficulties which may be involved.

We studied two reservations only, of the several dozen in the country. Our conclusions apply specifically to these two. But while the specific facts and interpretations apply only to these reservations, we see no reason to doubt that the very general conclusions stated above apply widely.

One other viewpoint should be stated by way of introduction. Economic conditions of life on the reservations we studied are miserable--comparable to those in the poorest sections of the United States at the depths of the depression of the 1930's. But the sources of difficulty are not merely economic. The reasons that a larger number of Indians are not driven from those reservations by poverty, to seek their fortunes in the larger American economy, lie not merely in lack of skills or knowledge. The obstacles to change lie in the relationships of a conquered people, their entire way of life destroyed, to the conquerors who destroyed it, and who now have complete economic power over them. Put in another way, the difficulties lie in the values and attitudes inculcated in each generation by the examples and anxieties of elders in this humiliating situation.

Our study therefore ranges widely beyond economic problems, over these questions of Indian-white relationships and the processes of personality formation in this abnormal situation.

This report is presented in two parts. In Part I we discuss the present situation, summarize briefly our judgment concerning its causes, and then present recommendations for a considerable variety of actions, economic and other, additional to those now being taken, which we believe will improve it. In Part II, we present somewhat more fully our analysis of the origins of the present situation. In part this analysis is from a somewhat technical psychological viewpoint, in order that readers who have some background in psychological analysis, or who are willing to work painstakingly through an unfamiliar sort of analysis, may gain a fuller understanding of the problem as we view it.

FOOTNOTES

1. No evidence is available concerning natural increase off the reservations.

2. The "relocation program," to which a vocational program was added in 1958.

3. Indeed, the gross out-migration is probably no greater than natural increase. See Chapter 5, below.

Chapter 2. The Reservations, the People, and their Income

i. The reservations

We studied the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations. They lie along the southern border of South Dakota, Rosebud approximately midway between the eastern and western boundaries of the state, and Pine Ridge adjoining on the west. The Indians on both are of the Teton-Dakota division of the Sioux nation, most of those on Pine Ridge being Oglalas, and on Rosebud Brulés. The Rosebud reservation consists of 1,544 square miles, or about 988,000 acres, and Pine Ridge of 2,544 square miles, or about 1,629,000 acres.[1]

There are a few small villages on each reservation. Occupations are entirely rural. Transportation and travel are by road; the nearest railroad depots are at Chadron and White Clay, Nebraska, 35 miles from Rosebud and 20 miles from Pine Ridge respectively.

ii. The people

In 1956, the resident Indian population of Rosebud was 5,189, and of Pine Ridge, 7,287. In addition, there were 168 non-Indian residents at Rosebud, and 115 at Pine Ridge--ranchers, traders, and Bureau of Indian Affairs employees. Only about one-eighth of the land on Rosebud and one-tenth of that on Pine Ridge is cultivable; the rest is grazing land. As Table 2-1 indicates, most of the grazing land and all but a small fraction of the cultivable land is in enterprises operated by non-Indians to whom it has been leased by its Indian owners. Indian operation is relatively small.

Of the Indian population at Rosebud, some 45 per cent are of full Indian blood, and 18 per cent of less than one-half Indian blood.[2] At Pine Ridge, these percentages are 37 and 20, respectively. The difference between the two reservations is striking, but it is less important than what is happening over time at both. The blood composition is not static.

At Pine Ridge, 57 per cent of individuals above 65 years of age are of full Indian blood, but the fraction falls with decreasing age, until for children under 5 years of age, it is only 25 per cent. At the other extreme, of those

Table 2-1

Land Use (in Acres)

Use:	Pine Ridge	Rosebud
Grazing Land:[1]		
Total	1,460,232	867,897
In Use By:		
Indians	617,608	275,000
Non-Indians	842,624	592,897
Land Presently Cultivated:[2]		
Total	168,599	120,000
In Use By:		
Indians	39,650	15,000
Non-Indians	128,949	105,000
GRAND TOTAL[3]	1,628,831	987,897

---

[1] Grazing land figures include acreage occupied by homesites, schools, churches, etc.

[2] Acres presently cultivated includes some land not economically cultivable. The number of acres potentially suitable for cultivation is not yet known but will be available on completion of a soil survey presently in progress. The total acreage determined to be suitable for cultivation will probably not be greatly different from the figures given here.

[3] Total acres includes all lands under jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (March 1960).

Source: Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

above 65 years of age, only 2.5 per cent have less than one-fourth Indian blood, but of those under 5 years, the percentage is 7.5. At Rosebud, a similar trend is occurring. By the mere aging of the present population, at each successive decade in the future the number of full blood reservation residents will be smaller than it was ten years earlier. Presumably future births will continue the present trend, until the number of full-blooded Indians approaches zero. And at the other end of the blood mixture, as with the passage of time younger individuals replace older ones the percentage of reservation residents with less than one-fourth Indian blood is rising, though the change is less spectacular in magnitude than the decrease in the number of individuals wholly of Indian blood.

Table 2-2 presents data by age groups. Figure 2-1 portrays the situation more vividly than the data can do so.

Table 2-2

Blood Mixture, By Age Groups, In Per Cent

A. Pine Ridge

Fraction Indian Blood	All Ages	Age Groups, in Years								
		0-5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
Less than 1/4	7.6	7.5	7.2	6.1	9.6	5.5	5.2	3.9	2.9	2.5
1/4 to 1/2	10.9	16.4	15.5	15.5	16.8	14.0	9.6	14.3	12.8	12.9
1/2 to 3/4	15.4	16.4	16.0	13.7	13.4	12.2	14.7	14.0	12.7	18.9
3/4 to Full	21.4	34.6	37.3	34.8	29.9	30.3	29.1	19.7	17.9	9.0
Full	44.8	25.1	23.9	29.9	30.3	37.9	41.4	48.0	53.7	56.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

B. Rosebud

Fraction Indian Blood	All Ages	0-5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
Less than 1/4	5.7	10.6	10.5	9.9	10.0	4.8	5.4	6.4	4.2	2.3
1/4 to 1/2	14.3	11.6	9.7	10.1	11.4	13.7	7.7	11.8	11.9	11.7
1/2 to 3/4	14.6	17.6	17.2	15.5	16.6	10.8	13.3	13.8	14.1	17.8
3/4 to Full	28.0	27.7	27.3	26.8	23.4	22.8	23.6	16.7	9.6	6.5
Full	37.5	32.5	35.3	37.7	38.6	47.9	49.9	51.3	60.2	61.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: In computing the percentages, individuals were omitted for whom no report was obtained. There were 215 such individuals, or 3.0 per cent of the total, at Pine Ridge, and 422, or 8.3 per cent of the total, at Rosebud.

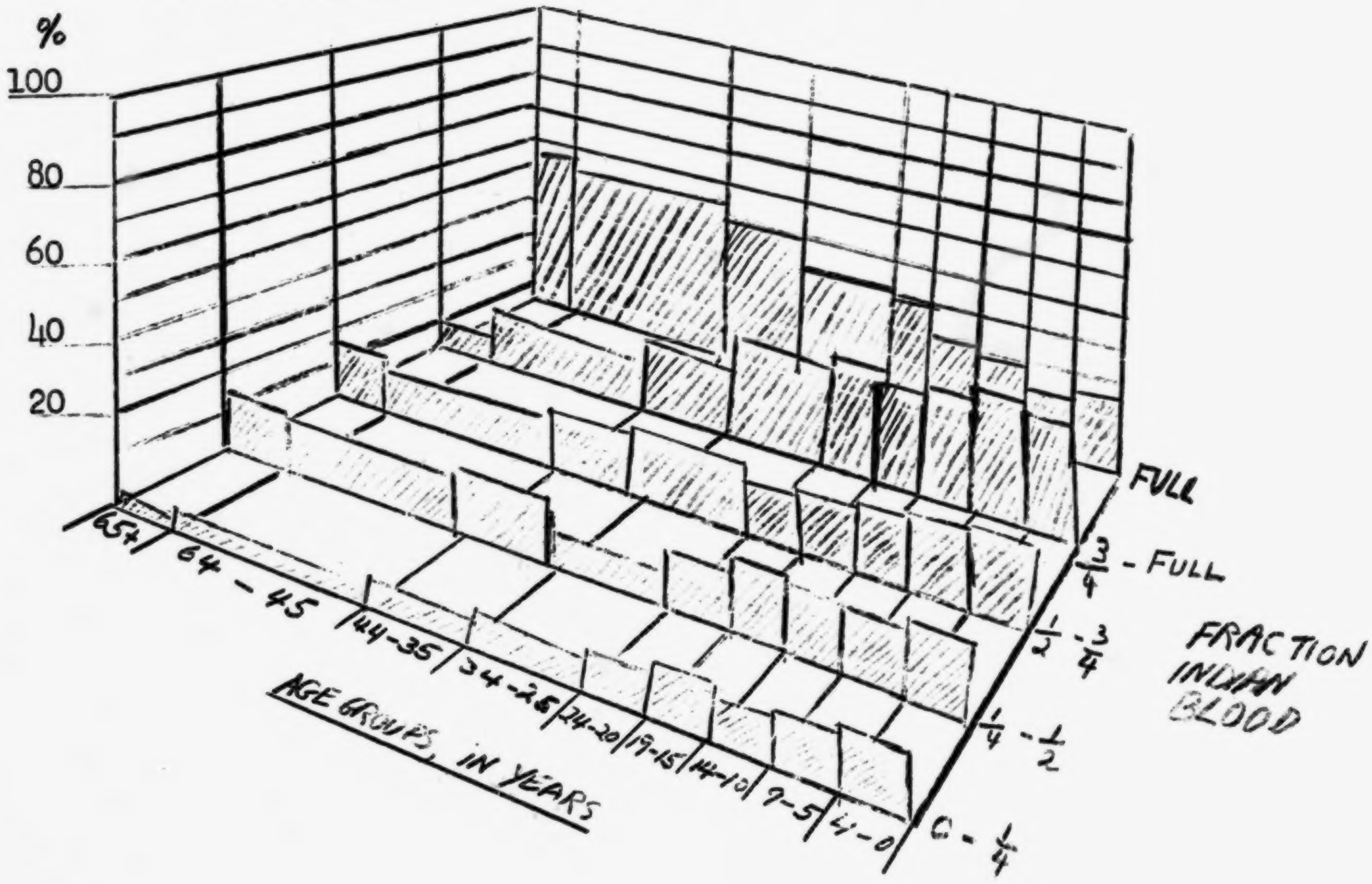
Percentages in some columns will not add to the total of 100.0, because of rounding.

Source: Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

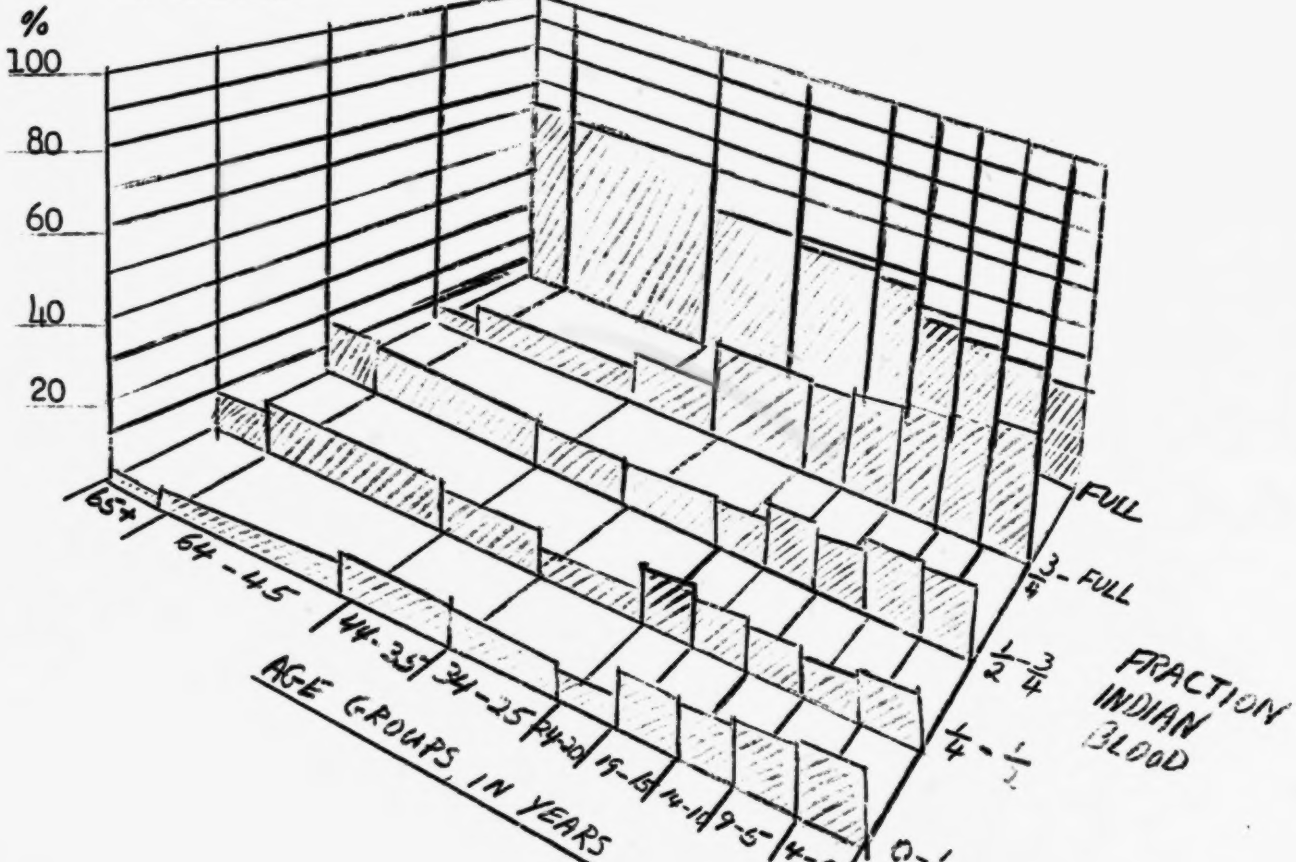
FIGURE 2-1

BLOOD MIXTURE, BY AGE GROUPS, IN PER CENT

A. PINE RIDGE



B. ROSEBUD



One peculiarity should be noted. While steady change is occurring in the percentages of the population with three-fourths or more and less than one-fourth Indian blood, the percentage between those two limits is roughly the same at the various age groups; this suggests that at least in the short run it is remaining roughly constant over time. At Rosebud, some 28 per cent of individuals below ten years of age have between one-fourth and three-fourths Indian blood--and approximately 27 per cent of those above 45 years. At Pine Ridge, there is a somewhat more marked trend, but even here there is no rapid change. The percentage for those under 10 years of age is about 32--and for those above 45 years, about 28.

These data may seem to suggest that while dilution of Indian blood is occurring among full-bloods and among those with least Indian blood, in the middle range of Indian-bloodedness little change is occurring, and we are having a biological stabilization at one-fourth to three-fourths Indian blood.

If this were true, however, it would be difficult to account for the steady increase of the number of persons with less than one-fourth Indian blood in younger age groups. The entire set of data is consistent with another interpretation. The intermediate degree of bloodedness is so stable at least partly and probably largely because individuals are entering it by intermarriage between full bloods and mixed bloods at about the same rate that individuals are leaving it through intermarriage between present members of the group and individuals of lesser Indian blood, or non-Indians. A hydraulic analogy is appropriate. From one generation to the next, a flow of blood mixture from full-bloodedness through the intermediate degrees to less than one-fourth Indian bloodedness is occurring.

If this interpretation is correct, the biological stabilization is only apparent. As the number of full-blooded Indians decreases, the flow from that group into the intermediate group will shrink, but the flow out of the intermediate group into the group with less than one-fourth Indian blood will continue, and the intermediate group will steadily shrink in size, while the group with less Indian blood increases.

The shrinkage, however, may not begin for several decades. In the meantime, the intermediate group is apt to increase in size. And indeed the shrinkage may not occur at all, or may occur only very slowly. The tendency of mixed-bloods to marry with mixed-bloods may be such that a group with an intermediate blood mixture may persist indefinitely.

The significance of the alternatives, we suggest, is cultural rather than biological. As the fraction of non-Indian blood increases, the probability increases that the child is inculcated with non-Indian values and attitudes through the attitudes and example of one or both parents. Given enough generations, the "Indian problem" may solve itself through the disappearance of the Indians as a distinct cultural group. But even if this hypothesis is correct, the length of time required will be long. A simple "straight-line" projection of present trends (the basis for a more refined projection does not exist) suggests that even sixty years from now, some 10 to 15 per cent of the Oglala and Pine Ridge Sioux will be of full Indian blood, and that the percentage with less than one-fourth Indian blood will perhaps be little greater than this.

On the other hand, biological stabilization may be occurring. We cannot be sure. Even if it is not, the change is so slow that Indians will exist as Indians almost indefinitely.

In any event, biological change does not bring parallel cultural blending. Cultures do not mix within the individual as easily as blood. When one society crushes another, and some of the functions which the one society has taught its members to perform, disappear, difficulties in living effectively in the new situation may result, which may last for a time span that is long in terms of human generations. And they may exist for individuals of mixed blood in at least as great degree as for persons of full blood.

iii. The level of education

The level of education of the two groups is modest, but not greatly less than that of rural South Dakotans in general. Of persons at Rosebud over 20 years of age, 70 per cent have completed at least the sixth grade, almost 30 per cent at least the ninth grade, and 4 per cent have some education beyond the twelfth grade. At Pine Ridge, the corresponding percentages are 63, 25, and 3. Furthermore, the average amount of education is appreciably greater for individuals under 45 years of age. The average grade completed by persons above 45 is 6.9 at Rosebud and 6.2 at Pine Ridge, while for persons 20 to 25 years of age it is 8.9 at Rosebud and 8.8 at Pine Ridge.

Table 2-3

Level of Education, by Age Group in Per Cent

A. Pine Ridge

Highest Grade Completed	Age Groups in Years 20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+	All Groups
No Schooling	.7	1.8	1.1	2.5	14.6	3.4
1st - 3rd	2.1	2.0	1.5	8.1	18.4	5.8
4th - 6th	17.9	17.6	19.1	39.7	42.2	27.4
7th - 9th	42.6	51.0	46.0	36.1	19.1	40.3
10th - 12th	30.8	24.5	28.4	11.7	5.7	20.2
College	5.9	3.1	3.8	1.9	0	3.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

B. Rosebud

Highest Grade Completed	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+	All Groups
No Schooling	.6	.7	.9	1.1	7.6	1.8
1st - 3rd	1.4	1.3	3.0	2.3	12.9	3.5
4th - 6th	14.2	12.9	17.3	31.4	46.4	23.5
7th - 9th	45.7	45.6	39.0	47.2	22.2	41.7
10th - 12th	33.8	35.0	33.9	14.4	10.3	25.6
College	4.3	4.5	5.8	3.6	.7	4.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: In computing the percentages, individuals for whom no report was obtained were omitted. These constituted 5.8 per cent of the total at Pine Ridge and 12.5 per cent at Rosebud.

Table 2-3 (continued)

Note: Percentages in some columns will not add to the total of 100.0, because of rounding.

Source: Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

This moderate but commendable level of educational achievement, however, should not be taken as an indication of a level of general economic welfare roughly comparable to that of rural South Dakotans in general or rural Americans elsewhere. The education has been achieved in federally financed schools and religious mission schools, including boarding schools to which some of the pupils attending are sent by their parents because they will eat better than at home.

iv. The economy

The conditions of life on the two reservations are startling to an individual accustomed to the American (even the rural American) level of living. If the conditions found there existed in groups of any size that were integral parts of the American society (as the Indians are not), they would constitute a scandal which would stir immediate public action. The level of income is that, not of the United States or rural South Dakota or even the rural areas of the poorer southern states, except for some pockets, but rather that of the lower income countries of the world. Indeed, in this as in other respects, the reservations are underdeveloped societies in the midst of our affluent one.

A census in 1956 indicated that of the 1729 family heads and single individuals at Rosebud, more than two-thirds had cash incomes below $2,000 per year, 56 per cent, under $1,000, and one-third under $500, 60 per cent were under $1,000, and three-fourths under $1,500. At Pine Ridge, 4 per cent are Bureau employees.

These data omit the family heads and single adults--between 2 and 3 per cent--for which no report was obtained--probably low-income families. On the other hand, experience elsewhere indicates that such census enumerations are more apt to understate than to overstate incomes; of irregular incomes, some items of income are apt to be forgotten. Further, there was some production for own use, in addition to the cash incomes, but this was much less than one would expect in a rural area, both because of the poor quality of the soil and because of certain Indian attitudes mentioned in later chapters. With allowance for these facts, the income levels shown are miserably low.

Table 2-4

Cash Income Levels, Family Heads and Single Adults, by Source of Income, 1956

Income Class	Percentages					
	Rosebud			Pine Ridge		
	All Types of Income	Earned[1]	Welfare & Other[2]	All Types of Income	Earned[1]	Welfare & Other[2]
$0-500	34.1	20.3	55.4	30.4	17.3	47.7
500-1000	23.6	23.5	24.8	28.8	29.1	30.0
1000-1500	12.6	13.7	11.2	15.5	18.1	12.1
1500-2000	6.5	7.8	4.7	7.9	9.6	5.5
2000-5000	19.6	29.3	3.4	14.3	20.2	4.0
5000 +	3.5	5.4	.5	2.4	3.7	.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
ADDENDUM:						
No Report	3.0	1.7	.2	2.3	.4	.4

Note: The percentages shown are of the family heads and single adults reporting in each class. The per cent shown as not reporting, however, is of those reporting plus those not reporting.

1. Income from self-employment, wages and salaries, and pensions.

2. Income from land leases, liquidation of capital, welfare programs, or from relatives or friends.

Source: Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Perhaps the most striking fact about the income situation, however, is not the level of income, but the absence of dependable sources of self-support.

(See Table 2-5.) Only 25 per cent of the family heads and single adults at Pine Ridge, and 28 per cent at Rosebud, were self-employed or had regular jobs. Another 25 per cent at Pine Ridge and 27 per cent at Rosebud had jobs irregularly. Fourteen per cent at each reservation depended for income on pensions, rentals from the lease of land to other individuals, or the liquidation of capital assets--undoubtedly sales of land. Lease income was typically low, and the individuals who obtained money by the sale of their land typically spent the money for current living expenses and were in the worse situation thereafter. The remaining 34 per cent at Pine Ridge and 28 per cent at Rosebud were totally dependent on some form of government welfare payments or on relatives or friends. (In addition, for 2.1 per cent at Pine Ridge and 3.3 per cent at Rosebud, there was no report; more of these were probably in the dependent category than in others.)

Table 2-5

Family Heads and Single Adults Classed by Source of Income, 1956, In Per Cent

	Pine Ridge	Rosebud
Employed:		
Self-employed	8.7	10.5
Regular wages or salary	16.5	18.0
Irregular wages	25.1	26.6
Other non-welfare or dependency:		
Pensions	5.3	6.0
Lease income, etc.	6.0	6.0
Liquidation of capital assets	2.5	1.7
Welfare payments:		
BIA General Assistance	2.1	4.3
Aid to dependent children	8.1	5.9
Other	9.2	8.4
Dependent on relatives or friends	14.4	9.3
No report	2.1	3.3
	100.0	100.0

Source: Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

To regroup these figures, in 1956, a prosperous year in the United States, fully 59 per cent of the family heads and single adults at Pine Ridge and 55 per cent at Rosebud had either no source of income except welfare, the largesse of relatives or friends, or irregular employment. At the time of a June 1956 census, 53 per cent at Pine Ridge and 49 per cent at Rosebud were idle, as Table 2-6 shows. In addition, concerning 2.8 and 2.5 per cent, respectively, there was no report.

Table 2-6

Occupations of Family Heads and Single Adults, 1956, In Per Cent

	Pine Ridge		Rosebud	
Agriculture		21.4		22.4
Armed Forces		4.6		4.8
Other employments:		18.3		21.6
Professional, managerial, clerical, and service	3.3		1.7	
Tribal employment	1.0		1.5	
Federal employment	5.0		4.2	
Skilled and semi-skilled, other	3.9		4.2	
Unskilled, other	5.2		9.8	
Not working		52.9		48.7
No report		2.8		2.5
		100.0		100.0

Source: Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

An amazingly large fraction, as Table 2-7 indicates, was unemployable in one sense or another. At Pine Ridge, about 7 per cent were females with minor children, 12 per cent were over 65 years of age, 5 per cent were hospitalized, institutionalized, or otherwise unemployable--a total of 24 per cent--and an added 11 per cent were "handicapped." At Rosebud, 5 per cent were females with minor children, and 19 per cent over 65 or unemployable--again a total of 24 per cent--and an added 10 per cent were "handicapped." But this total of 35 per cent at one reservation and 34 per cent at the other who were unemployable or handicapped, contrasts with 53 and 49 per cent, respectively, who were not working at the time of the census, and 59 and 55 per cent, respectively, who had no earned or property income except from irregular employment. Between one-fifth and one-fourth of the population were fully employable but had little or no work.

Table 2-7

Employability of Family Heads, 1956, By Per Cent

	Pine Ridge		Rosebud
Number of family heads:	2606		1729
		Percentages	
Fully employable	63.3		65.5
Unemployable or handicapped:			
Females with minor children	6.6		4.9
Over 65 years of age	12.4		12.7
Deaf and mute, or blind	1.5		1.2
Other	9.7		8.6
Hospitalized, institutionalized, or totally and permanently disabled	5.0		6.7
No Report	1.1		.4
	100.0		100.0

Source: Aberdeen Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

This was the situation in June, when, although the spring seasonal work in agriculture had pretty much ended, summer employment might be available. No one to whom we talked at the reservations regarded these percentages as unusual. This is the normal economic situation, at Rosebud and Pine Ridge.

The physical evidence of the economic condition, in the winter of 1960, when we visited the reservations, was what one might expect from these data. The large majority of homes were extremely inexpensive frame structures, unsuited to keep out the cold, or worse. Many, especially at Pine Ridge, were make-shift shacks, such as one might see only in a "shanty-town," and one small community was living, as apparently they normally lived, in tents. A wood fire in the center of the tent tempered the below-zero winter weather sufficiently to permit habitation. While we have no evidence of the level of nutrition, we suggest that a public health survey would probably reveal common nutritional deficiencies. The general scene, in short, is one of extreme rural poverty.

FOOTNOTES

1. These are the areas under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in March 1960. The precise acreages are 987,897 and 1,628,831.

2. These percentages and those that follow in this chapter omit individuals for whom no report was obtained.

Chapter 3. History, Society, Culture, Personality: Origins of the Present Situation

i. Introduction

The economic situation, then, is an unfortunate one. The present problems, however, are not merely economic. Many, probably most, of the tribal members are apathetic, anxious, rather demoralized individuals, without vigor and enthusiasm. They believe that white Americans are callous about their welfare and quite willing to do them harm. At most contacts with whites, they are fearful of white intentions, and wary.

These attitudes and anxieties are tremendously deep-seated. They constitute blocks to happy and effective living more difficult to treat than are the economic obstacles. The problem of Indians living within a white nation cannot be understood without considering these less tangible, but deeper, sources of trouble.

Social scientists do not yet fully understand the origin of such difficulties, but our understanding is increasing rapidly. It rests on the analytical tools of modern psychology and anthropology. The explanation, which is technical, is presented in Part II of this report.

In this chapter, we try merely to convey a general impression of the nature of the problem.

ii. History

By way of background, consider how the Sioux lived before they were conquered.

In 1650, when Europeans first came into extensive contact with them, the Dakota Sioux were found in Minnesota at and around the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Earlier, they had gradually migrated up the river from the south together with other tribes, some of whom settled down to agriculture in small bands here and there while the more aggressive groups pushed on. After about 1650, the hostile Algonquins to the north became armed with guns which they obtained in trade with Europeans in the Hudson Bay area. They thus became too powerful for the Sioux, and the Sioux retreated southwestward in successive waves. Among the first to move were the Tetons and some related bands. As they reached the Minnesota River, they disagreed concerning their further course, and divided. The more cautious bands turned northwest through forest country, but the Tetons crossed the river and struck out onto the plains of southern South Dakota, where buffalo roamed in large herds.

This migration was on foot; the Sioux did not yet have horses. Women, children, and dogs carried the minimum necessary supplies and equipment on their backs, while the men kept themselves free for hunting and fighting. Neither was this the bold advance of a great tribe. Rather, it was wandering, slinking advance by small often half-starving bands, who were as apt to beg or steal food from other groups as to engage them in battle.

In the eighteenth century, however, the Tetons began to acquire horses by theft and capture. After the middle of the century they acquired them in large numbers, and, armed with guns they themselves had acquired in barter with white traders, became the bold, savage, powerful "riders across the plains" of whom we read in literature and legend.

Before trade with the whites assumed importance, the Tetons had lived purely off the countryside. The buffalo they killed provided meat, clothing, bone for implements, hides for tents and thongs, and indeed virtually all of their needs except for some other foods. As they acquired horses and guns, trade came to dominate their lines. They exchanged furs, hides, and delicacies such as buffalo tongues not only for guns and ammunition but also for textiles, ornaments, and other European products. But they were not drawn to the European ways of life; the basis of their power continued to be their traditional types of prowess. They had never been more powerful in it.

So eager were they to obtain buffalo hides, and sometimes even only buffalo tongues, for trade, that they killed far more buffalo than they themselves could use the meat of. The buffalo herds were rapidly decreasing in size and number before the settlers came to accelerate the process. Indeed, the Sioux killed them off far faster than the settlers did. Then, with the coming of settlers, and in their wake federal troops, the Sioux society was crushed by superior force at the peak of its power. In 1878 the Tetons were completely conquered and were moved onto the reservations where they now live. Though even before the settlers came a prophet might have foreseen the coming extinction of the economic base of Sioux life, the Sioux themselves remembered their life as victorious and glorious and at its peak before the settlers came--as indeed it was--and blamed the hostility, cruelty, and deceit of the whites for their humiliation and suffering.

iii. Society, culture, and personality

Their hunting-fighting life had required certain types of behavior and certain division of labor for its success, and for their very survival. It required a high degree of mobility, which was more easily achieved in a small group than in a larger and more complex one. For most of the year, they moved about in small bands of individuals related by blood and marriage. Each band settled down separately in winter camp. In late spring, except in years when warfare or catastrophe prevented, a group of friendly and somewhat related bands came together for a few weeks in a large encampment.

In the small bands, it was essential that the men be free to fight or hunt at any minute. They therefore did none of the camp work or transportation. As I have noted above, before the acquisition of horses transportation of necessary goods was on the backs of women, children, and dogs. Camp work was done by the women.

Mobility also required that possessions of the band be held to a minimum. This required that no unnecessary duplicate possessions be transported, for example that every family take its chances that someone in the band would kill a buffalo, rather than carrying a reserve supply of meat. It required also that anyone in the band needing any household or personal item might freely take one in the possession of any other individual. Unnecessary goods, an extra burden to transport, might mean failure to escape from a dangerous situation, and death. Any tendency to accumulate would have been a threat to the entire group.

Such a life also required extremely close cooperation among the members of the band. Personal rivalries which led to friction were a danger to the group, and individual assertiveness was jeered at and shamed except when it was on behalf of the group. Even then it had to be sanctioned by religious ritual. Only in the area of supreme importance to the group, shooting and the other skills related to killing, and in the related area of persuasive advocacy in tribal councils by braves who had proved their merit, was individual vying in skill praised. Any other competition, for personal advancement, was a sign of personal untrustworthiness, a sort of perversion.

Finally, the hunting-fighting life required that the braves be ready to kill an enemy or a suspicious stranger "at the drop of a hat," without compunction and without guilt. The slightest tendency to give him the benefit of the doubt might endanger the band, and the Sioux killed without hesitation.

The Sioux also felt another need of a different type, which was just as important though not as obvious. Like every people anywhere, they felt a need to find some meaning in their life. Their life was by no means always successful; famine and sickness and death occurred. Why were some groups and some individuals more capable and successful than others? Why did calamity fall at some times and on some persons? They made meaning of their lives by a set of religious beliefs, of which a central one was that all power in the world exists in a pervasive supernatural force. Manifest in the sun and stars, sky and earth, buffalo and birds, victory and defeat, life and death, it is responsible for all natural events, and some human beings have more skill and power and good fortune than others because this almighty supernatural force confers it on them. This force they termed Wakan Tanka. In annual rituals, they pleaded with Wakan Tanka for strength and power, and they believed that from Wakan Tanka the success of their society came. They also believed that power was dangerous, and that no man might safely use it except as he had been cleansed and purified before receiving it from Wakan Tanka, and had proved himself worthy by enduring pain. In the annual Sun Dance, chosen braves therefore endured self-inflicted torture (skewers through the flesh, torn loose) to demonstrate and restore their worthiness.

The activities and division of labor necessary to make their way of life successful were not reasoned out for each individual. Rather, all

Sioux felt spontaneously that certain things were good and proper and worthy and satisfying, while others were contemptible, mean, perverted, unworthy. The things they valued highly and those they valued low were remarkably different from those which white Americans value high or low.

Thus, to the men of a Sioux band, hunting and fighting were the only activities which a normal or decent male would pursue. They regarded other work which we term "productive," as ignoble and repugnant; it was humiliating and degrading for a man to take part in it. The only men who did camp work were sexual inverts, known as berdaches, who had chosen to live the life of women, and who frequently were also homosexual prostitutes. For them, work was appropriate.

Sharing their goods, too, was only decent. So strange to their culture was the idea of individual possession of food that in Lakota, the language of the Dakota Sioux, there is no way to say, "This is my food." And apparently also no way to say "My tepee." The concept is absent. The closest one can come is to say "the food in the tepee I prefer." A man or woman who withheld objects to himself or herself, rather than giving them to any member of the band who expressed a need or interest in them--in our terminology, a person who saved--was a social leper, a pervert, an individual to be ostracized as not worthy of being a Sioux.

Again, to try to demonstrate individual superiority within the band, except with respect to shooting and the other arts of hunting and killing, and in discussion of the strategy to be followed by the group, was antisocial and contemptible. Even with respect to these skills, the purpose was not to outdo another individual, but to show that one was as skilled as possible in these activities on which life depended. The person who attempted to "show off" in any other field was jeered and sneered at.

Each person felt that individual assertiveness was mean behavior; it made him feel uneasy.

Large organizations seemed to make the Sioux uncomfortable, perhaps because in them anxiety-creating individual comparisons and frictions were apt to arise. In any group larger than the band, he felt uneasy after a short time. The annual encampments lasted at most a few weeks; thereafter, the Sioux rapidly separated into the less tense situation of the small band.

Finally, the Teton did not kill merely because it was a necessity; he did so with pleasure and contentment, and without guilt. Some persons in our society get a thrill from killing in wartime, when the society sanctions it. Every normal Sioux man felt such a thrill at killing enemies, and at skill and daring in doing so. To outwit an enemy by slyness and conniving was also meritorious; a Sioux who obtained an advantage by feigned subservience, or tricked an adversary by clever talk, had done a praiseworthy deed.

How did the Sioux acquire such attitudes? (And to what extent do they still acquire them, as they grow up today?)

How such values and attitudes are bred into individuals, so that what is honorable and moral and demanded by the community in one society is unworthy and a matter of contempt in another, is a matter which modern psychology is coming gradually to understand better and better. A brief explanation is apt to be misleading, but if the reader will take part of the explanation on faith, some conception of the process may be imparted.

One aspect is the perception by the infant and child of the emotions of his parents. If his mother or father expresses pleasure or distaste or alarm at some event in the family life, by word or attitude or facial expression, a child or even an infant perceives it, attributes some meaning to it, and reacts accordingly. If his mother and father are satisfying loving parents, in general, he shares the emotions and attitudes they direct toward others. They teach him what life is like. If his mother is pleased when she shares her food with her neighbors, he is pleased. If she is humble and submissive before her husband, he expects his sisters to play second fiddle to him. The attitudes he learns in this way become part of his nature; as an adult, he acts and feels accordingly, without conscious thought. Similarly, he learns attitudes from older brothers or sisters or other persons in his immediate group whom he respects and likes. He learns from individuals he does not like, also, but in a more complex way. This process, and the other processes of acquiring one's attitudes, are not primarily conscious or rational ones. The parents' deeds, their attitudes and emotions, speak far more loudly to the child than the precepts they teach him in words. Even the smallest child's ability to generalize without conscious thought concerning what is desirable or undesirable, and to adapt his behavior accordingly, is impressively great.[1]

More generally, the infant or child "learns" his personality by his reaction to events which give him satisfaction or pain, which delight or shock him or arouse anxiety in him. Thus a child whose mother did not nurse him adequately, so that as an infant he was often somewhat hungry, may be greedy all his life, and primarily because back in his infancy he came to feel that it is impossible to get enough. If when he was a young child his father was domineering and repeatedly checked his eager son's initiative, so that the son avoided tension and anxiety only by being meek and obedient, he may tend to be lacking in initiative all his life.

From another viewpoint, one may say that the infant and child learn what kind of behavior works, and tend to continue that pattern of behavior throughout life. The son's relationship to his father just mentioned, is an example. Or, if the child could gain his mother's attention, and thus relieve a feeling of loneliness, only by being noisy and aggressive, he may be noisy and aggressive all his life whenever he feels uncomfortable and anxious.

These are overly simple examples of a very complex process. None of the infant or childhood experiences cited may produce the result mentioned, if some other aspects of the child's environment intervene to create a more complex impact on the child. To repeat, the values, attitudes, view of what is true in life, and what is good and proper, is bred into him by the total impact of his environment during the time he grows up. The initial years are very important: "as the twig is bent, the tree inclines"; by the time the child is seven or eight years old, deep impressions have been built into him which are not apt to be eradicated by all the formal education and other experiences of his life thereafter.

A few dramatic examples will illustrate the impact of some parts of Sioux infancy and childhood on the individual Sioux.

The Sioux infant never experienced a shortage of nourishment. His early life was one in which there was absolute abundance, to a degree to which a white American child never felt this. Before the Sioux baby drew nourishment at his mother's breast, other women had first drawn at the breast so that the milk flowed freely and easily and would be available to the baby without appreciable effort on his part. Thereafter, whenever he whimpered or made a gesture, he was offered nourishment. If his mother was not near, any other nursing woman nursed him at once. He was never weaned. He continued to nurse until he chose, gradually, to stop--perhaps at the age of four or five. In this way, he began at birth to learn that there was plenty, that the entire group would give to him (and therefore that he did not need to hoard possessions). His later childhood experiences taught him the same thing. His parents gave freely whatever he desired, not because they thought they were drilling any specified qualities into him, but because they believed that this is the way one treats a child one loves, and regarded it as cruel and brutal to treat him otherwise. (They believed that the behavior of white parents toward their children--making them wait to be fed, denying them things they want, weaning them, coercing them even to the point of striking them--demonstrated that they do not love them.)

Sioux parents never coerced a child. But this does not mean ~~that~~ that the child grew up uncontrolled. He learned that only goodness comes from above, but he was disciplined by his peers--in the name of the group, so to speak. Toilet training provides an example.

To an infant, his power to excrete materials from his body is a wonderful and interesting thing, and not in the least "dirty." The typical child will play with his excreta, and offer them to anyone interested, and especially to persons he loves. In the Sioux society, it was thought natural that a child should be trained in his toilet habits by children slightly older than he. When he was several years old, they led him out in the open, and suggested that he imitate them. If he did not learn in a reasonable time to make a gift of his excreta at the request of the group, rather than expelling them merely for his own satisfaction, the friendly suggestions became less friendly, and soon he was teased and shamed into social conformity. The group was little enough above his age so that he had reason to expect himself to be their equal, no reason to justify his failure to achieve the desired equality in giving and in self-control by his smallness. A little later he was on the other end of the relationship, sharing in setting an example for children a little younger, and taunting and shaming them into the behavior desired by the group.

Here for the first time he learned that on behalf of one's group one exerts effort and controls one's behavior; that one has to give to the group to avoid the danger of being inferior; that equality of behavior in the group is what is wanted. He learned too that in the group there is acceptance and security; in severing oneself from the group, ostracism and shame. He learned in turn that as a member of the group he had the right and power to demand effort and giving from others. If when he was being trained he felt and expressed rage, he learned the futility of rage against the group, for his opinion of the group was ignored. Expressing his rage yielded him only greater ostracism; he was helpless in the face of group compulsions. A little later he could vent his rage by insisting that others conform; but beyond this, he had to vent his rage elsewhere--outside of his group.

It is safe to assert that events such as these, which impress young children deeply, caused the beginnings of the pattern of attitudes by which every Sioux, when an adult, felt that security in life does not depend on individual striving, that one does not need to accumulate possessions, and on the other hand felt a compulsion to share all that he had with the group and a necessity to yield to group demands upon him. These attitudes, it must be repeated, are not caused by isolated events or segments of childhood behavior, such as nursing or toilet training, so that by reversing these as one reverses a switch one can make desired changes in character. The Sioux learned these lessons many times again during his childhood and adulthood. His parents and peers behaved as they did because they thought it was the way life should be, and the reflection of their attitudes in all the details and relationships of life taught the emotional reactions which create character.

In ways corresponding to those illustrated above, the environment the Sioux child grew up in taught him that it is unworthy to seek to stand out from one's group except as the group seeks it for its own ends, that danger and anxiety lie outside of one's group, that one may freely vent one's rage on any object outside the wider world of one's tribe, that a man worthy of the name will endure pain with fortitude and self-control, and indeed on occasion, as a representative of one's group, will inflict it on himself to prove to the supernatural force Wakan Tanka that one is worthy of being given power, that routine work is degrading for a man, and so on.

iv. Captivity

With defeat by the whites, the meaning fell out of Sioux society. The tasks which Sioux childhood had trained Sioux children to perform, no longer existed to be performed. Life became a matter of staying alive, in an alien world. Two aspects of the change explain many difficulties in relationships between Sioux and their new environment today.

(1) Increasingly, the environment around a Sioux child taught him two contradictory sets of values and attitudes, so that as an adult he had no consistent set of attitudes to act by, and was hardly able to act at all.

Culture is tremendously persistent. The child draws in attitudes toward the world with his mother's milk, so to speak, and breathes them in from the atmosphere of his home and of the community of which his home is a part. In turn, when he is an adult, he passes them on to his children. The tendency for the persistence of Sioux values and attitudes is great because the relationship of the mother to the infant and child in the early years of his life, and the role of old men and women, who sit around the home, relive the old life in their tales, symbolize it in their actions and attitudes, and provide models for the young of how one behaves, are two parts of Sioux society that have been relatively little affected by the drastic changes in other aspects of life. These two parts of the child's environment are important in the transmission of culture from generation to generation. Perhaps these intimate aspects of home life are usually relatively little affected by external social change, and this is one of the reasons culture is so persistent. In any event, Sioux children do acquire, in the many complex ways in which a culture accomplishes this, many of the same attitudes as of old. They come unconsciously to feel, in greater or less degree, that it is pleasant and good and necessary and natural to share with one's group, and right to insist that a fellow shall share whether or not he wishes to; that attempts by an individual to get ahead of his fellows are selfish, unmannerly, a little contemptible; that work, if it becomes a necessity for a man, is a painful and humiliating one, etc. The group of his peers is still a source of emotional security for a Sioux second only to his parental home; away from his group, striving individually and not in the name of his group, he is anxious. But at the same time, if the child is of mixed blood, as most are, he may learn from some of the attitudes and emotions and behavior of one or the other of his parents that keeping one's belongings from one's neighbors (saving them) is good, that it is good to show one's individual superiority and "get ahead," whether one's fellows do or not; that the way to get ahead is to work energetically, etc. If his parents, having learned both sets of attitudes from their parents, are themselves anxious and conflicted and depressed, he learns from their behavior and their emotions that to exert himself creates anxiety, and that not to do so creates anxiety--i.e., that there is no escape-- and he subsides into listless apathy as the least painful course.

Whether or not he learns contradictory attitudes from his parents, as he goes to school and in other ways comes into contact with non-Indian adults and children, he learns things which contradict the attitudes he has learned earlier. For example, his teacher urges him to distinguish himself in individual achievement; but if he does, the silence and expressions of his classmates indicate their scorn or embarrassment at his behavior. Throughout his adolescence and later life, he experiences inconsistencies. Sharing all one has is noble and satisfying, sharing all one has is wasteful and shiftless; accumulating possessions is mean and contemptible; accumulating possessions is worthy and good; to strive to achieve in competition with one's peers indicates one's crassness and cheapness; to strive to achieve in competition with one's peers is "grown up" and praiseworthy.

To make the situation more damaging, the community which in his old society set the moral tone for the child has been disrupted, and family life too has lost part of its meaning. The function of warrior-hunter which the father once served has disappeared, and the father is in fact either a mere drudge or a mere drone. He often has no way to assuage his lost pride and dignity except in drink. There is now no outside group on which the father may vent his hostility and rage, and too often after tensions have produced frustration and hostility he vents it on his fellows (in theft, destructiveness, personal attack) or on his wife. In the old days, his wife, happily serving her function in the band, was submissive to her warrior husband. Today, if her husband, no longer a warrior, abuses her in his frustration, she may and often does leave him, and goes to live with another man.

As for the children, in the old Sioux band, a child often went to live and visit with relatives. Today he does the same, and no relative would reject him, but the practice is now a way of avoiding not only parental bickering but parental authority. In the Sioux band, the group of peers was a main disciplining agent; today to a large degree, the peers themselves are individuals at loose ends who provide a modicum of emotional support without providing a standard of social purpose.

As a result, it is hardly a figure of speech to say that the typical Sioux adolescent is torn in two. No course of action can give him happiness, for at _any_ course of action some part of him tells him that he is acting meanly and unworthily. To no course of action can he give vigor and enthusiasm, for some part of him tells him that he is acting wrongly.

These observations are not merely theoretical hypotheses. Research on the reservations amply confirms them. The insightful study of Gordon MacGregor and associates, _Warriors without Weapons_, narrates case after case of children studied in 1943 through 1945, who were distressed, anxious, ambivalent, apathetic--and these are the adults of the two reservations today. On our visit to the reservations in the winter of

1960, the head of a mission school on the Rosebud reservation, himself unversed in modern psychology but sensitive to human needs, said to us in effect: "The children come here, and in the lower grades they gradually unfold and bloom and do well. Then in high school, something happens. Many of them somehow seem to shrivel and fade away; they go back to their homes, and I hear nothing more of them." Although he did not realize it, he was giving a vivid picture of the inevitable crisis in adolescence, and its frequent outcome, when a child is torn between two cultures. To add to his stress, the Sioux adolescent, whether full blood or mixed blood, knows that if he abandons the impoverished emotional support that he can still get from his group, he will be a "marginal man," having rejected the Sioux society, such as remains, but not fully accepted by the white--standing alone in an alien world after growing up under the influence of Sioux culture in which standing alone is, far more than in ours, a frightening event.

(2) The other difficulty is the deep conviction, which every person who thinks of himself as primarily a Sioux seems to feel, that white men, including those in the United States government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, do not like him, are callous concerning his welfare, and for the slightest advantage will cheat him and cause him to suffer. We discuss its origins here, to indicate its seriousness.

This is not something the Sioux has reasoned out as much as he has felt it "instinctively." He feels it in his bones and gut muscle, so to speak, rather than merely in his brain, though he will offer plenty of rationalizations for it. His evidence is history, as he interprets it. From his viewpoint, the white man killed his buffalo, overran the lands that were the Indian's, threw him into captivity, and massacred Sioux men, women, and children in cold blood. (This refers to the Battle of Wounded Knee.) The white man assigned him lands to live on and then progressively took them away from him as white settlers desired them. This he accomplished by repeatedly changing the laws relating to Indians, by treaty revisions obtained through pressure, misrepresentation, and "firewater," by buying from the Sioux land whose value he did not appreciate until it had been lost, by first impoverishing the Sioux and then offering them money which they needed too badly to refuse, in exchange for their lands. The whites stole the Black Hills, we were told, at the cost of thirty blankets, one each for thirty local chiefs, and thirty bottles of whisky to get each one drunk, so that he would sign a treaty.

In the background is another cause. Probably originally it was most important in creating this attitude toward the white man, though present-day Sioux do not relate it and may not themselves be aware of it. This is the fact that the white man, once he had placed the Sioux on reservations, refused to let them live as they felt decent Sioux should--in separate bands related by blood and marriage, with tribal lands, and sharing their goods honorably--and by force prevented them from conducting their annual rituals to Wakan Tanka. These, while they offended white morals, were certainly as sacred to the Sioux as Holy Communion or the mass are to Christians.

We are not here asserting what an objective view of the history would be, but merely indicating the Sioux interpretation. This continuing fear and suspicion of white men should not be regarded merely as some strange inexplicable aberration. It is an almost inevitable result of conquest. It has been true almost everywhere in the world that when one people has conquered another, imposed its rule, treated the culture of the conquered people as barbaric and inferior, and disrupted and crushed it, that the conquered people continue for generations to feel that the conquerors are callous, will let them suffer, will exploit and cheat and rob them. For they cannot otherwise explain why the conquerors have destroyed their society. The suspicion and hostility which many people in almost all of the countries of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East feel in some degree toward their former European masters and indeed toward all Westerners, is evidence. The intensity of feeling with which they have demanded independence is a result. Indeed, if the American Indians were more numerous and white Americans less so, it is conceivable that American Indians too might be rising from resignation to their fate even today to demand independence; perhaps only their powerlessness, the inevitability of the situation, keeps them from doing so.

For these are not mere attitudes of the past; they exist today. The Sioux like and trust individual white men, but even with regard to these individuals, it is easy for their suspicions to be aroused. And they do not believe that white men in general will be fair and just in dealing with them. On our visit to the reservations, we were acutely aware of this attitude. It colors the Indian interpretation of every white action. The Sioux tend to regard the Congressional resolution calling for termination of reservations as soon as possible, the transfer of health services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the United States Public Health Service, the transfer of responsibility for education at Rosebud from the federal government to local school authorities, the relocation program, all as steps in a design to abandon them and leave them to starve. At several times in a discussion in the tribal council at Pine Ridge, in which complaints were made that families were suffering during the winter because of inadequate relief allowances, we heard the theme, "We can't understand why they [Bureau officials] do this, except that they don't like Indians."

This suspicion is apt to influence most contacts between an Indian and a white official. A discussion between tribal and Bureau officials is not a discussion of a mutual problem among friends; it is a cautious negotiation between antagonists. The tribal members feel that the Bureau officials are cold and indifferent to their needs; the Bureau officials feel that they cannot trust the tribal members to tell them the truth, but that instead the Indians will deceive them to get added income. Indeed, there may be such a tendency, for the Indians do not trust the officials to deal with them generously or justly if they do know the truth, and in dealing with an enemy one will protect oneself as one can. If a member of the tribe becomes an employee of the Bureau, the attitude toward him changes; he has sold his group membership for silver, and thereafter he is an "outsider." But, his income now being increased, his relatives are apt to come to live with him.

If one considers the inner anxiety and depression and despair which the conflict of cultures has bred, and adds to it the feeling of the Sioux in his gut muscles that the white man is callous about his welfare and would cause him suffering if there were any advantage, it is easy to understand that many Sioux see no hope either on the reservation or away from it; that many of those who were drawn to urban centers by economic opportunities, cannot endure the anxieties which life in the cities causes, and give up and return to the reservations; that listlessness and apathy are common; that drinking and theft and sexual delinquency are higher among Indians than among whites.

The picture is not entirely black. Though even economically successful Indians may be depressed and anxious, many individuals have made a fairly successful adaptation to their new life, either on the reservations or away from them. Nevertheless, for most tribal members, morale remains low, and there is no prospect of rapid improvement. For anxieties and inner conflicts tend to be transmitted; the attitudes and anxieties and view of the world of any group inevitably affect each new group of children born into it. There simply is no way to shield the children from the inconsistencies and tensions of their environment.

But the situation is not static. The intermixture of blood brings an intermixture of cultures within the home, producing agony and anxiety for generations, but producing also continuing change. Equally important, the events of the outer world, the larger white society, do affect the Sioux community; those effects change some elements of the atmosphere in which successive groups of children grow up; and so gradually change accumulates. These changes will not make replicas of Europeans of the Sioux; for they are Sioux. But, grappling with change, individuals struggle to adapt themselves, and slowly, with pain and suffering, the adaptation goes on. Eventually, even if there is no positive action from outside the group except the economic one, Indian tribes will form more satisfying communities of their own within the larger society of other Americans, while a number of individuals leave the group and merge in urban American communities. Here and there throughout the United States individual Indian tribal leaders of great initiative and imagination are arising. We comment on their appearance in Chapter ~~11~~ 6. They are taking matters into their own hands; in a sense they are the American equivalent of the leaders for independence in colonial countries. As time passes, they will accomplish changes. But they are few, and lack tools; their appearance does not constitute a remedy.

Time is one ultimate remedy. But it is not necessary to be passive, and leave all to the slow painful healing of time, or to the possible future initiative of Indian leaders wresting concessions from our political and social system. There are measures which white Americans may initiate which we think will improve the environment and hasten the process of adaptation. We suggest in Chapter 6 some measures which may be helpful.

Meanwhile, there are economic measures, additional to those now in operation, which in our judgment ought to be undertaken, both to relieve promptly the extreme poverty of the reservations, and to further increase opportunities for economic self-support in the longer run. We discuss them in Chapters 4 and 5.

FOOTNOTE

1. Thus, for instance, many three-year old children learn merely by listening to conversation that one forms the past tense of a verb by adding "ed" to the present tense; they then do so, quite unconsciously, even to verbs for which this is incorrect, such as "runned" and "throwed."

Chapter 4. Recommendations: Measures for Immediate Economic Improvement

i. A work program on the reservations

The effects of the unemployment which now exists on the two reservations lie not merely in the lack of income which it entails. In addition, the idleness and the lack of self-support demoralize both the adult concerned and the members of his family, who will be the next generation of adults.

If the analysis we have presented in the preceding chapters is correct, the cause is not mere unwillingness to work. Neither, probably, is it absence of an effective employment service. As Chapter 2 indicates, most of the tribal members are trained only for seasonal agricultural or other unskilled labor. Most of those who do not have regular jobs leave the reservations seasonally to work as farm laborers. Some of them follow a migratory route; others go each year to the same one place. Though the point may bear further investigation, we suspect that the informal employment service conducted by word of mouth and letter provides fairly effective information concerning such seasonal opportunities. Those among the able-bodied and unemployed--probably relatively few--who do not leave the reservation seasonally are mainly older men; with few exceptions, we judge, they are individuals who are too confirmed in their fear of the unfamiliar world, their perception that it will defeat them, and too sunk in their apathy toward it, to venture out into it. We were told of individuals who, having made a contact with a farmer in a neighboring state, returned invariably to his farm each year for work, but felt lost when he died or ceased to operate the farm and thereafter remained at the reservation.

We recommend, therefore, both for the sake of the adults directly concerned and for the improvement of the home environment of their children, that a year-round work program should be inaugurated at each reservation, of sufficient size to employ during the off-seasons individuals who find seasonal employment away from home, and to employ throughout the year individuals who are too apathetic to leave the reservation even seasonally for agricultural employment.

The length of our acquaintance with the reservations was not great enough for us to assert with confidence that sufficient work, justifiable on purely economic grounds, exists on the reservations. We were assured by tribal officials that it does, but their enthusiasm for such a program, when we suggested it, may color their judgment. It is clear that much useful work is available to clear out the underbrush, establish perpetual-yield forestry on a small scale, restore dams, embankments, and channels originally constructed some years ago, improve shorelines and streams for recreational purposes, improve reservation roads, etc. Apart from these public works projects, a great need for improved housing exists throughout both reservations. Most of the materials for the construction of low-cost housing could probably be produced on the reservations, and all of the labor, apart from management and some training in carpentry and masonry, could be provided by individuals now unemployed. We believe that reservation-wide projects for the construction of low-cost housing would be highly advantageous. Together with projects of a public works nature, they would provide enough work opportunities to constitute a work program of some years' duration.

A rough calculation of the necessary magnitude of the program may be made. Data for 1956 relating to employability and employment, selected from Tables 2-5 and 2-7 of Chapter 2, are as follows:

	Pine Ridge	Rosebud
Number of family heads and single adults:	2,606	1,729
	Percentages	
Fully employable	63.3	65.5
Self-employed or with regular jobs	25.2	28.5
With only regular jobs	25.1	26.6

Subtraction of the percentages for the last two categories from those for fully employable individuals suggests that in 1956, 13 per cent of the family heads and single individuals at Pine Ridge and 10.4 per cent of those at Rosebud were entirely without work.[1]

On the basis of these percentages, it may be calculated that about 650 part-year jobs at Pine Ridge and 450 at Rosebud--equivalent to say one-half as many full-year jobs--would be required. If all of the individuals estimated to be employable and entirely without work are truly employable, about 290 full-year jobs at Pine Ridge and 180 at Rosebud would also be required, but on the more plausible assumption that one-half of those able-bodied but entirely without work are not in a fuller sense employable, we arrive at an estimate that 650 part-year and 145 full-year jobs at Pine Ridge, and 450 part-year and 90 full-year jobs at Rosebud would be required. At the wage rates suggested below, the labor cost, excluding any cost of skilled technicians from the outside, who might have to be brought in for training and supervision, may be estimated roughly at between $1.1 and $1.3 million per year.

This estimate may be much in error: on the one hand, a number of the persons irregularly employed, who have occasional jobs other than agricultural ones, might not seek reservation employment for six months of the year; on the other hand, the indication in Table 2-6 that about one-half of the family heads and single individuals were unemployed in June 1956 indicates that at times the number seeking such work might be much higher than the calculation indicates. In any event, the net wage cost of the program would be less than the gross cost estimated as above, for almost all of the individuals concerned probably receive cash relief payments at present during part of the year, and some receive aid throughout the year. These payments would be reduced.

It may be of interest to note that the population of the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations is approximately one-twenty-fifth of the total population of Indian reservations throughout the United States. If unemployment at all reservations bears the same ratio to the total number of employable family heads and single adults as at these two reservations, the wage cost of a nationwide program offering employment to all who lack it may be estimated at some $28 to $33 million annually. Since, however, Pine Ridge and Rosebud were selected for study because they presented some unusually difficult economic problems, the national ratio of unemployment may be smaller. In any event, our immediate proposal is, not for a nationwide program, but as a minimum for a test program at these two reservations.

We inquired, of both some Bureau officials and some tribal leaders, what fraction of tribal members might be expected to be malingerers, refusing to work, if they could evade it, if work were available at the reservation. The replies were sufficiently consistent so that we have some confidence in the judgment that such individuals would number less than 10 per cent of the labor force, and perhaps well under 5 per cent. This judgment was used in our estimate of the wage cost presented above.

Three provisions of such a program seem to us to be important. First while the wage rate should be below that offered, for example, for seasonal agricultural labor, it should be sufficient to cover the current expenses of a family. We suggest, very tentatively, a pay scale of between $25 and $30 per 48-hour week. This income would be in addition to the free medical and health care and the surplus agricultural commodities available at the reservations. Low though this pay scale seems, with the other amenities available it would apparently provide minimum subsistence. It is not far below current pay scales for seasonal agricultural labor in the region, which, we were told, are 75 cents per hour or slightly more for hourly labor, or $5 plus one meal per 10-hour day, for day labor.

Second, employment should be offered to all who need it. A pilot work program, available only to a fraction of the idle men of the reservation, would bring into play the Sioux practice of sharing. There is some evidence that by many tribal members sharing is no longer done spontaneously, automatically, but rather under social pressure. But the social coercion would certainly be too great to resist. If some families had no income, income earned by one family would be drawn upon by several. It would then not be sufficient for food, clothing, and shelter. Work would seem of little more advantage than idleness. Indeed, because of the problem of relationships with one's neighbors which it creates it might seem less desirable than living on relief, if through successful malingering relief could be obtained. Work would probably be grudging and would fail to effect the group therapy which should be one of its purposes. This is a type of measure with respect to which a pilot project is singularly unsuitable.

Finally, so far as feasible, the administration of the program should be in the hands of the tribe, rather than of the Bureau. The reasons for such administration, and the difficulties it would raise, are discussed in Chapter 6.

The inauguration of such a program, and provision for its execution by tribal leadership, would be a moderately bold step in the hitherto cautious and tightly regulated local administration of Bureau of Indian Affairs agencies. Such steps are needed.

Such a program, we suggest would yield important benefits, apart from the fact that out of simple humanitarian considerations it is badly needed.

First are its direct economic returns in improvement of the reservation property, increase in its attractiveness to tourists, and improvement in housing which in turn should improve human productivity and health.

These immediate economic returns would probably not alone justify the cost of the program. Much more important, it would contribute, in some not measurable degree, but clearly in a desirable direction, toward an improvement in the outlook on life of tribal members which in its turn will increase their ability and desire to help themselves. It has been suggested that such a program, by providing an alternative to other work, would discourage tribal members from working elsewhere. We judge the opposite.

An important obstacle to success in seeking and keeping permanent or seasonal work off the reservation has been the apathy which many tribal members feel, the perception that the world rejects them and that their efforts will not alter this. A work program on the reservation will by no means wholly dissolve that apathy. For, as we have noted, the apathy is bred deeply into personality in early years of life, and opportunities offered in adulthood will not erase it. But the availability of such opportunities and the rational perception in adulthood that the environment is cordial will certainly soften the apathy in some marginal cases, will create some tinge of the perception that one is valued after all, and will make some small contribution toward increasing individual vigor and initiative. As evidence of this, we may note the warmth which which a number of Sioux recall the year-round work program of the 1930's and the opportunities it offered for group cooperation and individual self-respect; and the zeal with which tribal members turned out to join in the emergency fight on a recent serious forest fire in the Black Hills.

And, even though the effect on diluting present apathy is minimal, the change in environment for the next generation will certainly be of more significance.

ii. A housing program

We have mentioned the rather wretched housing conditions on the reservations, and have suggested a reservation-wide housing construction program on each reservation. We suggest new housing, not for all families, but only for those who choose new low-cost houses, with the (fairly low) ensuing monthly financial obligation to their present housing. Our suggestion is that the construction should be by tribal members employed as construction workers under the work program, and professionally supervised, and not as a self-help measure by each family or small group of families.

While we were on the Pine Ridge reservation, trial on a self-help basis of an improved machine for the production of rammed earth-and-cement building blocks was being discussed. If the tentative evaluation of the process by Bureau officials is correct, it provides an inexpensive means of tremendously improving the housing of many reservation residents. Testing of the process should be done under expert supervision, rather than as a spontaneous self-help project, for the latter, through lack of experience, might produce poor quality blocks, or use them improperly in construction, even though when appropriately done the process is effective. Even if testing should prove the tentative evaluation overly optimistic, other low-cost housing plans are available; useful advice could probably be obtained, among other sources, from United States International Cooperation Administration or United Nations Technical Assistance Administration staff members and consultants who have investigated low-cost housing construction for use in low-income countries abroad.

A contract with each family for whom a house is constructed under such a program might provide for repayment of construction costs, with interest, over an intermediate term of years. The existence of a comprehensive work program, as recommended above, would provide assurance of ability to make the repayments, and the housing construction program would, in effect, be financed out of the remainder of the work program, insofar as other sources of Indian income were not sufficient.

This program, like the work program in general, should be administered as fully as possible by tribal members themselves.

iii. Home for the aged; orphanage

As an added measure toward alleviating the immediate economic problem and at the same time meeting social problems caused by the combination of extreme poverty and broken homes, we suggest consideration by the Bureau and by the tribes of establishment of both a home for the aged and a home for orphans on each reservation.

In view of our limited knowledge of Sioux family customs, we do not have a firm judgment whether aged Sioux would accept residence in a home for the aged. We do know, however, that in the impoverished society of the reservations, many aged individuals exist who have neither adequate economic security nor, apparently, the loving nurturance of close relatives. The impressions we do have of Sioux family customs do not cause us to have a positive judgment that life in a home for the aged would be repugnant to aged Sioux. We recommend, therefore, that a careful survey be made, both of the number of individuals involved and of their attitude toward life in a physically comfortable and secure insitution with others of their age.

We recommend also a study of the problem of orphans on the reservations. There are cases of parentless children, and children with inadequate parents, who seem to be passed from relative to relative as resources dictate. The lives they live are not conducive to their emergence as emotionally well-balanced and self-reliant adults. As in the case of the aged, we do not know the magnitude of this problem. We recommend that it be investigated.

If either institution is established, administration by the tribe as a tribal institution, should be seriously considered, and seriously discussed with tribal leaders. The problem of administration of such institutions is discussed in Chapter 6, together with that of administration of the work programs recommended above.

iv. Community facilities

As a measure to increase the general welfare, rather than primarily to provide employment, construction of certain community facilities should be considered. We believe that an "inventory of basic needs" would indicate facilities whose construction might reasonably be a part of a general work program, and for which necessary equipment might reasonably be provided at federal expense.

Some difficult problems of inclusion or exclusion would arise. An example is provided by the question of water supply. In one Rosebud village (St. Francis), which may be cited by way of illustration, the only source of water is the well at the village store. From this well, housewives carry in pails the only water other than rain available in any house for any purpose (and in general there are no cisterns or rain-collecting facilities). This situation epitomizes a number of aspects of reservation problems. With a sufficient degree of individual initiative, some households would have found ways of digging wells, as the storekeeper did. (He is a member of the tribe, one of the very few who has been able to resist "sharing" sufficiently to keep a store in operation.) But equipment is not available, and the cost is high relative to the extremely low income level. In this and some other cases, federal financial aid for certain minimum facilities, together with measures to require tribal initiative, seems appropriate. We do not attempt here to list facilities or the best procedure, but rather merely raise the problem for study and action.

FOOTNOTE

1. These percentages may be compared with the following for the same year concerning percentages of family heads and single adults at the two reservations with income from various sources:

	Pine Ridge	Rosebud
Dependent on relatives or friends	14.4	9.3
BIA general assistance	2.1	4.3

Since some individuals in these two categories may be assumed to be not employable, the two sets of data are generally consistent.

Chapter 5. Recommendations: Economic Measures for the Longer Run

i. Relocation and vocational training

The proposals in the preceding section are correctives for current ills. They will, we think, contribute also to improvement of the longer-run situation, but that contribution is indirect. Measures for direct attack on the longer-run economic problems are also necessary.

This is one of the areas in which the present administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been most vigorous and most successful. A key measure has been the "relocation program," or, more formally, the "voluntary relocation services program," a program to aid tribal members to obtain permanent employment in American cities.

After more limited earlier measures to aid Indians in some areas to obtain urban employment, the present relocation service was initiated under a 1951 Act of Congress. The initial appropriation permitted expenditures only to finance costs of transporting the individual and his family from his reservation to an industrial center, shipping a limited amount of household effects (typically all that the family possessed, however), providing subsistence en route, and making a grant of $90 for subsistence of the family until receipt of income in the new job began.

Between 1951 and the present, the scope of the program has been expanded. At present the Bureau of Indian Affairs carries on a rather vigorous program on the reservations of disseminating information about economic opportunities in cities, and provides the following services for individuals who choose to "relocate" and for the members of his family:

> A physical examination before departure from the reservation.
>
> Transportation to the destination. An Indian on any reservation may elect as his destination any of the six or eight cities in which the Branch of Relocation Services now maintains offices.
>
> Subsistence en route.
>
> Transportation of up to 1,000 pounds of household goods.

A "personal appearance grant," to finance initial personal grooming and purchase of a minimum of clothing, to bring the appearance of the individual and his family into reasonable conformity with urban modes. Aid in purchasing the clothes is provided.

Aid in obtaining a job and in finding a residence.

Funds for the purchase of a minimum supply of housewares and furniture.

A subsistence grant ($100 to $360) intended to be sufficient for subsistence of the individual and his family for one month.

Medical care for one year--provided through a company owned by the Blue Cross and Blue Shield societies of the several states. At the end of the year the individual may continue this protection at his own expense.

Emergency subsistence in case of unemployment and need, and emergency grants in case of death, extreme illness, etc.

To this program, under a 1956 law, has been added a program of vocational training--up to the present limited primarily to training in a trade school, rather than on the job or as an apprentice. The training is conducted in a city where the individual may hope to find a job, rather than at or near the reservation. This program is conducted primarily for individuals between 18 and 35 years of age. The intention is to increase the capabilities of the individuals to find and hold industrial employment.

The relocation program has been violently attacked, both in principle and with the charge that it has been administered poorly and somewhat ruthlessly.

Consider first the attack in principle. The program, it is said, will break up the Indian culture, and by leaving the individual adrift in an alien society cause personal maladjustment, misery, and bad citizenship. With the extreme policy which is sometimes implied (or sometimes expressed) that the culture of each Indian tribe should be preserved _in toto_ in some sense, we disagree, if for no other reason than that the assertion seems to us to be meaningless. The pre-white society of each Indian group is gone; it cannot be revived. In some way, each tribe or its members must adjust, more satisfactorily than they have been able to do up to the present, to a relationship with the larger American society.

One such mode of adjustment is by individual choice to merge with that society individually or as a member of a small group of families, no more distinct from the local American community than families of other ethnic groups. Under the social pressures under which they live, some individuals and some families may be expected to make that choice. They will do so because life on a reservation is characterized by severe social stresses and tensions within the individual. We judge that many would do so even if the utmost feasible improvement were made in the economic and social conditions of life on the reservations. For some in each generation that life, somewhat detached from the larger whole, will by reason of that detachment not seem most attractive. The majority, and an increasing majority, of Indians (at least from the two tribes we studied, and we do not doubt more generally) are of mixed blood, and during their childhood in homes where one parent is either fully non-Indian or in turn possesses a parent or grandparent who was fully non-Indian, were inculcated with some of the values and attitudes of the non-Indian culture. Social and economic conditions on the reservations cannot of their nature be made stressless, and for various practical reasons will not rapidly be rendered even as free of stress as may ideally be possible. Thus the individual, harsh though the fact may be, will for a long time be faced with an alternative to "relocation" which is not fully satisfactory, and many individuals will choose to try life outside of a reservation.

One of the pressures for out-migration will be simply that if there is none, population on the reservation will grow rapidly. It is not a realistic forecast that the land available to the tribal members will be increased indefinitely in proportion to the rate of natural increase. Hence, without out-migration or some equivalent in rapidly and continually growing non-agricultural opportunities at the reservation, economic pressures will steadily increase.

Therefore we believe that the provision of information on the reservations concerning economic conditions outside should be continued, and that for individuals who voluntarily and with informed judgment elect to try life outside present facilities for the transition should be continued and where possible improved.

Some criticisms of the early administration of the relocation program were apparently justified. On at least some reservations, programs to obtain the maximum number of "relocatees" were conducted, and individuals who chose to make the attempt were shipped off without adequate screening to eliminate those whose chance of success was small, and with inadequate warning of the problems of social and economic adjustment and inadequate aid in making it. In the minds of at least some persons who took part in administering the program, the central aim clearly was to get as many Indians as possible off the reservations, in order to lessen the problem of number on the reservations.

Great improvement has been made. It is not clear that these criticisms are still pertinent. On Rosebud and Pine Ridge, we did not gain the impression that an undue "sales campaign" is now being conducted, though our study was so limited that we do not have the basis for a firm judgment. It is probably still true that some families leave without adequate information concerning the problems they will face. A number of tribal members expressed hostility to the program, but this may be more a manifestation of their general belief that the Bureau wishes to abandon the Indians and that its policies are not to be trusted, than a result of specific defects of the program.

Many individuals and families who move to cities to seek industrial work return to the reservations. Surveys were taken on the reservations between four and five months after the close of the fiscal years ending in June 1953 through 1957, to determine how many of the individuals relocated during the year had returned. The nation-wide average for successive years was 32%, 29%, 24%, 27%, and 31%. A survey in December 1958 indicated that at that time 39 % of persons relocated during the preceding fiscal year had returned. For Rosebud the 1958 percentage was 33%, and for Pine Ridge 43%.

Returns to the reservations of course continue after that length of time. A survey in November 1957 indicated that, on the reservations covered, 41 per cent of the relocatees of the fiscal year 1954 had then returned to the reservations. This survey included only areas from which 70 per cent of the 1954 relocatees had come. It did include Rosebud and Pine Ridge; the percentages for these reservations, interestingly, were only 29 and 17, respectively. These percentages, however, apparently are not representative of the rate of returns for these reservations over the entire period. A private research worker who made a thorough study of the Pine Ridge reservation in 1959, states that of all of the persons on Pine Ridge who had left under the program in previous years, slightly more than one-half had returned. Mr. Robert C. Burnette, president of the Rosebud Tribal Council, stated in a Congressional hearing, "About half of our people come back." Mr. George C. Miller, head of the Branch of Relocation Services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has stated that a nation-wide survey of returnees for the entire period of the program (whose results have not yet been released) indicates a higher percentage of returns than does the three-year survey. This survey included one one-year period, one two-year period, one three-year period, in addition to several longer periods. The percentage of "returnees" for the longer periods must have been rather high in order to bring the average for the entire survey above the three-year average. We are inclined to accept as an approximate judgment that on the two reservations with which we are concerned, about one-half of the persons leaving may return.

The size of this percentage is not surprising. What is attempted in the relocation program is a social and economic adjustment far more severe than that made in one generation by mobile Americans. While national census data show a decrease each decade in the rural population of the United States and an increase in the urban, the population of intermediate-sized towns changing less than either, more detailed studies indicate that very few Americans make permanent moves directly from rural to city life. Rather, individuals from farm families are apt to move to towns in the same region, while others move from those towns to the larger cities. The Indians who now attempt to make the big change in one jump are attempting a more drastic change than other Americans typically do, even though they typically have had much less contact with American urban life than have other rural Americans. Further, their way of life has not been simply rural; it has been reservation life, and their habits of behavior have been not simply rural, but in some degree Indian. Thus for them the jump is especially traumatic. It is not surprising that many of them retreat from the experience and return to the reservation.

The annual surveys cited above show an increasing percentage of returns in 1957 and 1958. We suspect that this statistical indication may portray a significant trend, rather than being a temporary variation. While aid in relocation during early years of the program was minimal, there existed on the reservations a pool of adults who had served in the armed forces or who had worked in war plants during the war, and who therefore had had either urban experience or at least experience in many environments. This pool is now exhausted. On the other hand, the number of individuals who continue their education through high school, and the number who attend college, and thereby have improved preparation for urban living is increasing. Further, the vocational training program is providing training for industrial jobs which was not previously available. In the fiscal year 1959-1960, at Rosebud and Pine Ridge (and presumably nationally) the number of individuals who left the reservations under the relocation program had declined sharply, and the number under the vocational training program had risen sharply. It is the opinion of some Bureau officials at the two reservations with whom we talked that many of the younger persons who are taking training in some larger city under the vocational training program are doing so only experimentally, and that a larger proportion than returned under the relocation program may be expected to return to the reservation when their training has been completed, or not long thereafter. On the basis of our own slight sampling of attitudes, we concur in this judgment. Balancing these various considerations, we see no reason to anticipate a reduction in the fraction of individuals leaving the reservations under the two programs who return.

In spite of these returns, we believe that the two programs are entirely justified, so long as they are not conducted on a "sales promotion" basis, and so long as comprehensive assistance in the severe readjustment process is provided. Even on a narrow financial basis, the programs, while expensive per person relocated, no doubt save far more than their cost in future expenses on the reservation. This consideration, however, is unimportant relative to the larger one of providing a satisfactory place within the American society for the American Indians. Within the frame of reference of that objective, we regard the programs as desirable. We have indicated above why we feel that permanent movement from reservations to individual places in the larger society is to be regarded as a desirable solution for many individuals. While a shift to urban life and back to the reservations causes many wrenches, it also provides experiences which must be of interest and must seem of value to the individuals involved, provided that they were not "oversold" on the move and do not feel a sense of having been deceived. Further, the external experience affects their home environment thereafter in ways which, with the proviso above, we would regard as increasing the prospects that the children of the next generation would be better able to make a satisfactory adjustment to life, either away from the reservations or on them. We recognize that the complexity of the effects is such that no confident statement can be made. Without attempting to justify our reasoning, we would register the judgment just expressed.

Preparation for a transition from reservation life to urban life should, we believe, be improved. Such a basic matter as the mere mechanics of living in an urban residence constitutes a difficulty. Dr. Benjamin H. Reifel, who during our visit to the reservations was director of the Aberdeen Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, expressed to us his opinion that it would be helpful to conduct such basic training as having prospective relocatees live for a week or more in a rented urban-type house near the reservation, before leaving for a city. There they could be taught what to do when the electricity fails, what types of material will stop up the wash basin or toilet drain, etc. We cite pre-training of this type as one simple example of improvements that might be made. While we made no direct study of the rather comprehensive aid to readjustment that is now provided in urban centers, conversations with individuals who had participated in administering that aid suggested to us that, perhaps through fear of "theoretical and impractical" social workers, it had been administered too largely by "practical," which is to say amateur, talent. It may be that a review of it directed at the question of the adequacy of its nature as well as its scope is in order.

While we do not believe that there is greater virtue in inducing Indians to leave the reservations than in creating increased economic opportunities on or near the reservations, it is worthwhile to ask whether an intensified or expanded program will increase the net outflow. The possible parts of such a program are an increased "sales campaign" on the reservations, improved training in the skills required in urban jobs, and increased aid to the individual in making the transition to urban living.

All three are being done rather well now. (We suspect that officials of the Branch of Relocation Services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs might object to the application of the term "sales campaign" to their present work on the reservations, nor do we desire to characterize the present work as such a campaign. Let us say rather that they seem to be publicizing urban work opportunities and living advantages adequately.)

We have indicated in preceding chapters the deep cultural roots of the apathy, fear of the white world, and anxiety when not within their group, which characterize many Indians. (We discuss those cultural causes at greater length, and more technically, in Part II.) Because of these characteristics, an increased sales campaign in itself would almost certainly not increase net outflow materially. Rather, it would induce individuals to move who are not fitted for the transition and would result in an increased number of cases of individual demoralization; increased gross out-migration would result in an increased return flow to the reservations.

With experience, improvement in the vocational training program will no doubt be possible. We have suggested above that improvement in the aid extended to help individuals adapt to urban living may also be possible. However, while it is not possible to quantify the results which may be obtained by such steps, we venture the judgment that they will not greatly increase the net outflow, simply because the present programs seem fairly effective, and improvements in them will not accomplish drastic change. The limitations on the outflow lie elsewhere.

ii. Industrial development

The other prong of the present Bureau program to bring reservation residents and employment opportunities together is the "industrial development program," a program to attract manufacturing enterprises to the reservations. The inducements consist of exemption from property taxes, if the enterprise is located within a reservation on land held in trust for the Indians by the United States government, low labor costs, and perhaps in individual cases location near local raw materials. This is obviously a thoroughly desirable program, if, or insofar as, it is feasible. In view of the concentration of our interest on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations, we made no attempt to evaluate the program nationally, although we discussed its national scope with Bureau officials. The two most successful ventures of which we were informed--measuring success by their promise of indefinite employment for at least a small group of Indian workers--are the Turtle Mountain Ordnance Plant operated by the Bulova Watch Company at Rolla, North Dakota, and the Cherokee Leathercraft Company, established by Saddlecraft, Inc., of Knoxville, Tennessee, on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina.

In our brief survey, we were of course unable to direct systematic attention to the possibilities of finding enterprises which would find it advantageous to establish plants at the Rosebud or Pine Ridge reservation. On general considerations, however, we regard the prospects for attracting manufacturing enterprises to this area of South Dakota as slight.

The major considerations which determine the location of an industrial enterprise are the accessibility of and distance to raw materials or markets or both, relative labor costs in different localities, attractiveness of the location to management, accessibility of auxiliary services, relative capital costs, and relative tax inducements. The disadvantages of the southern and southwestern South Dakota area are obvious. It is removed from population centers, and thus from markets. No natural materials of importance for industrial production which are not also available at many other places are apparent. Because of its rural character the location is unattractive to management, and lacks the accessibility of auxiliary services that exists, for example, in the smaller industrial cities that have developed in Iowa. The labor available is unskilled, and lacks the background of urban education and knowledge that gives advantage in many general types of jobs. While hourly or daily wage costs would be low, they are also low in many other areas which have other advantages. Even in Minneapolis-St. Paul, female members of a family whose head is otherwise employed may be hired at wages sufficiently low so that reservation members who are family heads could hardly work for less. The remaining possible inducements are possible subsidization of capital costs, and freedom from state and local property taxes if the plant is located on trust land. But processes using much capital, for which such inducements would be of most importance, are precisely the ones for which some of the disadvantages would loom large.

An example of the net result of these considerations is seen with respect to the Turtle Mountain Ordnance Plant at Rolla. This plant makes precision bearings, and the female Indian employees are reportedly extremely skillful at the work. Yet officials of the Bulova Watch Company have stated, according to Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, that in spite of this labor advantage the disadvantages of location weigh so heavily-- particularly with respect to management and auxiliary services-- that they maintain the plant at Rolla only because under their contract with their one customer, the government, they are directed to do so because of defense considerations.

It is of course possible that small industrial establishments may be discovered, for which location near markets is of no importance because transportation costs on their products are small, and which because of capital or tax advantages or conceivably because of some local raw material not now obvious, can be induced to locate at or near the reservations. That the probability seems small, on general principles, does not mean that it is non-existent. An exhaustive survey of industrial possibilities might be worth its cost, and the present process of casting about for possibilities should no doubt be continued. But we judge that to hang great expectations on industrial development, with respect to these two reservations, would be unjustified. We do not, however, intend this as a judgment generally applicable elsewhere. The attractiveness of reservations for industrial location no doubt varies greatly among reservations throughout the United States.

iii. Net migration from the reservations: the question of population

In Chapter 2 we stated that in the country as a whole the net outflow of population from American Indian reservations is not as great as the natural increase in population. While the ratio of out-migrants to total population at Pine Ridge and Rosebud is somewhat greater than the national average, it is almost certainly not greater than the rate of natural increase. The evidence, both nationally, and with respect to Pine Ridge and Rosebud, is as follows:

Nationally, the rate of natural increase among Indians on reservations is apparently at least 2 per cent per year, or at least 7,000 per year. The average number of persons who left reservations under the relocation program during the fiscal years 1956-1958, the three years of the largest flow, was 5,131. If half of these return, the net outflow annually will be less than 2,600. The vocational training program may or may not increase the gross outflow temporarily above the average for these years. In addition to the out-migration under these scheduled programs, there is some spontaneous out-migration to nearby towns. But maximum plausible allowance for these factors suggests that annual net out-migration in the near future, both spontaneously and under the relocation and vocational training programs, will be not more than 5,000, or less than 1.5 per cent of the reservation population. We would hazard a guess that it is more likely to be somewhat lower than to be this high; that it will be higher seems very unlikely. Thus increase in the population on reservations at a rate above one-half of one per cent per year seems likely.

Vital statistics records indicate an average rate of natural increase during the calendar years 1952 through 1959 of more than 2.0 per cent at Rosebud, and more than 2.6 per cent at Pine Ridge. Both births and deaths are no doubt underreported at both reservations, so that the precise rate of natural increase indicated should not be given too much weight. An area official of the United States Public Health Service suggests that the probable cause of the recorded difference between the two reservations in the rate of natural increase is underreporting of births at Rosebud. This suggests a true rate of natural increase at Rosebud higher than that recorded, even allowing for some underreporting of deaths as well. Altogether, a rate of natural increase appreciably above 2 per cent at both reservations is likely.

This may be compared with average annual gross out-migration from the two reservations combined, under the relocation program during the fiscal years 1952-57 and the relocation and vocational training programs during the years 1958 and 1959, of 312 individuals; or probable net out-migration, after allowing for delayed returns to the reservations, of say 150 per year, or approximately 1.5 per cent of the 1956 population. Even with allowance for spontaneous out-migration, total net out-migration has very probably not exceeded the rate of natural increase, though if a minimum rather than maximum estimate of population increase is taken, net out-migration may have equalled it.

In the longer run, net departures from the reservations may gradually increase because of the increasing degree of education of Indian young men and women and the gradual decline in the percentage of Indian blood.

The increase in the number of years of education is perhaps not so much a cause of greater interest in facing the outside world as an evidence of that interest. Indian children are interested in attending school for a longer period because of gradual change in their attitudes toward the world, and that change will probably include a gradual increase in interest in out-migration.

It is plausible to believe that out-migration will be relatively greater among individuals with more non-Indian blood, because such individuals tend to a greater extent to be imbued with non-Indian values and attitudes. Available data are consistent with this hypothesis. Although 44.8 per cent of the resident tribal members at Pine Ridge and 47.5 per cent of those at Rosebud are of full Indian blood, this is true of only 19.2 and 24.4 per cent, respectively, of the non-resident members. At the other extreme, although only 7.6 per cent of the resident tribal members at Pine Ridge and 5.7 per cent at Rosebud are of less than one-fourth Indian blood, of the non-resident members the percentages are 18.1 and 14.5, respectively.[1] Clearly, a larger proportion of mixed-bloods with a low fraction of Indian blood, than of full-bloods, has migrated.

However, increases in out-migration due to these forces will be very gradual, for the forces themselves will work only very gradually. During the same period, the rate of natural increase in population will almost certainly rise well above 2 per cent, since birth rates will tend to rise and death rates to fall as conditions of health and nutrition are improved. On the assumption of a future rate of natural increase of 2.3 to 2.5 per cent, a rate suggested by experience among many low-income groups in other countries as health conditions improve, there seems virtually no probability of a decline in population on the reservations during the coming two decades; an increase seems likely. (We reach this conclusion with due recognition of the uncertainty of the vital statistics, and of the future trends indicated; while any forecast has a considerable element of uncertainty, a combination of trends that would result in a decrease in population seems very unlikely, even assuming vigorous federal efforts to bring them about. If in fact the rate of natural increase is already 2.3 per cent or more, the prospect of population increase is even greater.)

Consequently, we conclude that greatly increased effort should be exerted to improve longer-run economic opportunities on the reservations themselves.

iv. Ranching and farming

We believe that a key part of that effort should be a program to aid tribal members who desire it, and demonstrate their capacity and persistence, to become farmers or ranchers. Such a program should take its place beside the relocation and industrial development measures.

Considerations of migration, population numbers, and the quantity of alternative job opportunities are not our only or central reasons for recommending this. We would recommend it even if we foresaw a population decline on the reservations. We believe that a farming and ranching development program should be initiated because for a number of tribal members these are the most congenial economic fields, and on grounds of as rapid as possible elevation of the general welfare and opportunity for self-reliance of the tribal members, such a program should be added to the armory.

The thesis is sometimes advanced that the Sioux are "natural ranchers," because of the similarity of cattle herding to buffalo hunting on horseback. The history of ranching on the two reservations, referred to in Chapter 3 and sketched at slightly more length in Chapter 7, suggests that there may be some validity in this thesis.

But the hypothesis can easily be overstressed. The reservation herds grew rapidly in early reservation days partly because selling them off was prevented by regulation. Many aspects of ranching are not in the least parallel to buffalo hunting; the elements of the chase and the kill, for example, are lacking. Skill is needed--it is easy to lose cattle with inadequate winter care--and there is needed also dogged hard year-round effort. The modest income from a small-scale operation may hardly seem recompense enough, and the possibility of longer-run gain too remote, except to an individual whose background draws him to the occupation. The judgment was several times expressed to us that few boys or young men were apt to be strongly interested in ranching other than those who had worked as ranch hands or at least were personally acquainted with ranching life, either because their fathers had been ranchers or in some similar way. This judgment may be correct. This is the case with non-Indians; there is no appreciable influx of manpower into ranching from other occupations; and much the same may be true of the Sioux.

Certainly there might be a temporary rush into ranching if money and the opportunity of becoming owner of even a small herd of cattle appeared. To persons in the present economic condition of the Indians, the economic power and position offered may seem tempting indeed. This happened at Cheyenne River, when federal reimbursement for lands flooded by the Oahe Dam provided the tribe with funds to lend individuals. The Indian ranchers at Cheyenne River have prospered because of the sharp rise in cattle prices which occurred after the operation began. Because of the same circumstance, where the tribe found it necessary to repossess a herd which was being badly managed, it suffered no loss. But it is too soon to tell whether there will be general success at cattle raising under more normal conditions and in the longer run.

Hence we do not suggest ranching as a panacea. We do not know how attractive it might be. But even if the number of young men with sufficient initiative, persistence, and skill, and interest in ranching should turn out to be relatively small, in a diversified and resourceful program of providing economic opportunities to the Sioux this number of young men deserves help toward this goal. Only a program which made interest in ranching practical would determine how great the interest and success may be.

Such a program would not be inexpensive. To be economic today, that is, to yield a net income above living costs of say $3,000 or more, requires 100 or more head of breeding cattle, and a total capital investment of $30,000 or more. It is not a business on which to launch a young man without thorough prior training and adequate testing of his abilities, interest, and perseverence.

But these are no greater obstacles than those encountered in the relocation program. Various means have been proposed of giving the necessary training and start in life to interested young men--tribal herds, in the care of which they would be tested as assistants; subsistence-size herds, on which individuals would gain experience and prove their capacities before being given greater financing; and other. We have no sufficient basis for judgment among these programs. We venture the judgment, however, that such a program would probably be no costlier, per person placed in permanent employment, than is the industrial development program, if supervision were exercised to prevent the destruction of an entire herd or a large part of one through incompetent management.

A crucial problem, apart from the financial one, would be obtaining the necessary land. Much could be done with the aggregate amount of land now owned by the tribe or held in trust for individual tribal members by the United States government. Table 2-1 indicates 840,000 acres of grazing land at Pine Ridge, and 590,000 at Rosebud, now in use by non-Indians. These areas would provide grazing area for some 350 to 400 100-head herds at Pine Ridge and some 250 to 270 at Rosebud.[2] But much of this land is neither idle nor in Indian use. It has been leased to non-Indian ranchers. There is no legal obstacle to termination of their leases, but their political resistance would of course be intense. However, with due recognition of the economic interests of these individuals, we judge that the obligations of the American government and society to the Indians, and the general public interest in their establishment in self-reliant social units, outweigh the private interests of present non-Indian ranchers and farmers operating lands on the reservations.

There are also difficulties other than the political one. To tribal members who are holders of allotments (or of part interest in them), the income they receive from rentals, while providing only a fraction of the income needed for subsistence, is of great importance. Experienced white ranchers, operating holdings large enough for the most efficient ranching, can and under market pressure do pay rentals considerably higher than those which Indians beginning ranching on a small scale could pay. Hence the individual allotment holders are among the most insistent supporters of continued leasing to non-Indian operators. If the tribe leased the land at current market rentals and set up tribal members in ranching on it, at least initially either the tribe would lose money on the rentals the operators could afford to pay or if they were to pay rentals at the going market rate would have to be subsidized from some other source. If the tribe borrowed money to purchase the land from present owners or allotment holders, a similar problem would arise. Rentals which new Indian operators could pay apparently would not cover interest costs on the purchase price of the land at its present market value. A period of apprenticeship or training and testing of individual capacity would be required before tribal members would be able to operate economic-sized ranching enterprises with sufficient efficiency to pay rentals at the market rate. A vigorous but prudent approach, rather than a sudden program encompassing all the family heads on either reservation, seems called for.

A factor which complicates the problem of consolidating land for tribal ranching enterprise or for tribal leasing to individual tribal members is the extreme fractioning of interests in individual allocations. In a number of cases dozens of heirs to the initial recipient of the allotment, who may be scattered throughout the United States, own some fraction of interest in the allotment. Under present law the allotment cannot be sold, either to an individual or to the tribe, without the consent of every person holding a fractional interest. This situation contrasts sharply with the American common law provision concerning jointly owned business enterprises, by which any one joint owner may force sale of his share of the property. Legislation to relieve the onerous provisions of present law governing these properties held in trust would be necessary if consolidation of holdings is to be accomplished.[3]

Just as the fostering of ranching enterprise by tribal members who are interested seems as economic, as appropriate, and generally as desirable as fostering their entry into urban industrial employment, so fostering their entry into farming enterprises seems equally desirable. The problems here are somewhat similar, but far less complicated, and we shall not discuss them even summarily.

We recommend that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should seek authorization and an appropriation from Congress for these purposes, and that in the Bureau a Branch for Ranching and Farming Services should be established, coordinate with the branches for relocation and industrial development services.

FOOTNOTES

1. The computation should be made for persons above say 20 years of age only, since it is adults who make the decision to migrate. Such a comparison would be more striking; the contrasts in percentages are greater.

2. These calculations assume 22 to 24 acres per breeding cow.

3. We have not investigated whether a question of constitutionality would be involved.

Chapter 6. Facilitating Social Adaptation

Even if nothing were done relating to the Sioux in addition to measures already in effect, no doubt the adaptability of the human individaul would eventually lead to life by individual Sioux and by communities of Sioux, satisfactory both to them and to the American society. Leaders are appearing among the Sioux who maneuver capably in the present situation. But "eventually" is a long distance in the future. It seems as desirable to take other measures which may facilitate the process of adaptation by the Sioux as it is to broaden the economic opportunities open to them.

i. Areas of difficulty

On the Sioux reservations, neither individual behavior nor home life nor relationships within the community nor the contacts between the Sioux and agents of the federal government seem healthy.

We have already referred briefly (in Chapter 3) to individual apathy, and to the anti-social actions by which individuals relieve the tensions, express the hostilities, of their disrupted lives. We have referred also to the failure of a satisfactory new type of home life to emerge after the former style of home life of the Sioux was destroyed by the termination of their hunting-fighting life. But up to this point we have paid little attention to community life on the reservations, or to Sioux-government relationships.

We have referred to the apathy only in general terms; it might be illustrated by countless instances relating to community activities. We heard of gardens, begun at the initiative of a government teacher, which were remembered with warmth, but which somehow had not been continued; of recreation programs begun with "outside" leadership which had provided diversion of a summer, but which after a year or or two had not been renewed; of community movies, remembered with pleasure, which had no continuance beyond the visit of the visitor who introduced them--of these programs dying, not because efforts to continue them failed, but because no Sioux seems to have made any overt effort to maintain them. In the report of an American Friends Service Committee worker, we read of the ease with which, under his leadership, $15 had been raised by community action in the isolated village of Potato Creek to replace a hydrant which had been taken out because it had frozen--but we read also that the community had gone without this source of water for several years because no one else had solved the problem.[1] In the accounts of MacGregor and Thompson, we read of the experiment in cooperative economic enterprise at the Red Shirt Table community in the 1940's, of which so much had been expected by way of social as well as economic revival; but the enterprise has died. The assets have been sold and the proceeds divided among the members; today they are as poor as they ever were.[2] These instances could be multiplied many times over. So many problems--real problems, creating real privations--could be solved with so little initiative, but go unsolved because that bit of initiative and organizational effort is lacking.

We quote in Chapter 10 (page 14) Erikson's statement that "the visitor on the reservation after a short while feels as if he were a part of a slow-motion picture, as if a historical burden arrested the life around him," and describe our own impression of the Sioux as ghosts walking about--withdrawn, passive, lifeless--or bodies from which the breath of life has been--almost--removed. They give the impression that what they do visibly during the day--their trips about the village, their huddles on street corners, their waiting in line to see a Bureau official who controls a segment of their destiny--are measures merely to keep alive or to help time move around the clock. What one misses most is vivacity. Only in small children does one note it. The quietness and boisterousness of teenagers both seem somehow forced.

Yet beneath this facade there is life. As we also note in Chapter 10, at night people emerge in almost frenzied activity in a world of their own, visiting, drinking, just travelling about. There are sometimes lively individualists in the intimacy of private conversations, and eloquent speakers in self-initiated community meetings, in which the group approbation rewards the male for the traditional Sioux virtue of eloquence. And there are persons who to an individual outsider speak with maturity and sophistication of the nature of their problems.

Their formal community institutions seem to bear little relation to their lives. So little contact do parents have with the community schools that it is as if children pass from one world to another as they move to the school, and as they return home. This is an intensified version of the remoteness from their children's school life of most individuals in the low socio-economic strata of American society. The Sioux parents seem almost as much removed from school affairs as from say a discussion of a summit conference (not quite completely removed from either). The schools are not their schools; while probably desired, they are institutions imposed and controlled by an alien authority. In Rosebud, where jurisdiction over education has been turned over to the state school system, the administration of the schools is by a county board of education; tribal members participate with other voters of Todd County in the election of members of the county board, but few Sioux have been candidates, and only one tribal member of one-fourth Indian blood, who is looked upon by many tribal members as "a white man," has been elected.

Or--another example--the Indian police are not agents of the Indian community; the tradition of the police of the annual encampments has not descended to them.[3] In the eyes of the tribe, they are instruments of an outside authority. Frequently, and presumably typically, Indians will not report the crimes of Indians. They probably fear retaliatory reporting of members of their band if they should report a member of another, but a further inhibition apparently is the perception by each individual of Indian relationships with the white men as a battle for individual freedom, in which any breach of the defenses may be a precedent for other breaches.

At an election rally, held the evening before the election of members of the tribal council, some candidates figuratively recalled once again the Massacre of Wounded Knee--promised resistance to the last breath against the overwhelming power of government; others appealed in the jocular hail-fellow-well-met manner of the precinct leader; the entire procedure seemed singularly removed from acute specific present-day community problems. These, it seems, are the province of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, not of the tribes themselves.

While the tribal members may unite against the agents of government administration, they are otherwise divided among themselves. The historic small bands within the tribes, composed of families related by blood and marriage, have long since ceased to be cohesive units. The bands have become somewhat dispersed: through the pressures of allocation, and by tensions within the bands themselves, now that they can no longer get rid of frictions and hostilities by venting them on outside enemies, family residences have become somewhat scattered. Yet in many cases, either an entire community or the nucleus of a community consists of such a kinship group, with some common nostalgic ties. A common ancestor is a band hero; a historical exploit is remembered. But the ancestors are much less heroes of the tribe as a whole; one kinship group is apt to speak with disparagement of the leader acclaimed by another. And among the bands there are more positive divisions: bickering, recrimination, sometimes drunken fights, on occasion physical injury or even a murder. Running through the inter-band dissensions are mutual accusations of cooperating with the government for their selfish gain. These antagonisms, little related to present realities, seem to provide some of the little emotional stimulus available to the tribal members.

There are other divisions within the Indian community, most conspicuous being that between "sociological full bloods" and "sociological mixed-bloods." The former include the biological full bloods plus some mixed-bloods who side with the full bloods on the issues dividing the two groups, which in general terms may be put as retaining old ways or accepting change, "being Sioux" or "being white men." But this characterization does not fully convey the tone of the division, which often is not about real issues, and which serves as much to work off hostilities and frustrations as to line up strength on current problems. The emerging leaders among the Sioux mention as one of their sources of resentment against Bureau administrators their accentuation of this division. (The administrators reply that they simply cooperate with those who will cooperate.) As the nature of these divisions indicates, the Sioux, whose small bands were their largest unit of permanent association, have handled the problem of living with each other in the same way in which they have handled that of their relationship to the outer world--by retreating from thinking about it, living instead on the one hand in nostalgic attitudes toward the imagined past and on the other in passive avoidance of analysis of problems except the minimum ones of keeping alive.

The formal contacts between the tribe and Bureau of Indian Affairs administrators seem especially unreal. We attended a meeting of the tribal council at Pine Ridge, and of its executive committee. (The executive committee includes the agency superintendent; it is symbolic of the relationship that its composition was determined some years ago at his instance.) The executive committee did not decide things with him; its discussions tapered off inconclusively.

At the tribal council meeting, the council seemed so unable to focus its energies on a decision requested by a representative of the Bureau of Reclamation--whether that Bureau, at its own expense, should further analyze a moderately promising irrigation project--that it required some pulling and prodding by the Agency superintendent and the area director before the council could energize itself to cast a vote in favor of this action which would cost it nothing and might bring some benefit. Or at least this was the surface picture. Private conversations later indicated that some council members feared that the project would be used either to reward favorites of the Bureau or "white farmers in Nebraska." One wondered how many other unspoken questions underlay the seeming formlessness of the two meetings. Almost the only spark of life came when several council members rose in sequence to denounce the callousness of the Bureau division administering relief funds in not granting sufficient relief funds to an aged woman (so they said) to permit her to purchase enough firewood for warmth in below-zero weather.

The relationship of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the two tribes has been, in a literal and specific sense, authoritarian. By this term, we imply no emotional criticism, but rather merely factual description. The relationship of government to the Indians has not been one either of partnership and equal cooperation or of giving and receiving advice and aid in solving mutual problems, but rather one of controlling and being controlled.

This was true initially by virtue of history. The Sioux were subdued by force. Subsequently, the federal government has determined their destiny by decisions which have been entirely unilateral. Present administrators are obviously of the best intentions, and in the early days of administration of the reservations, a remarkable number of social reformers and idealists came from Eastern intellectual centers to advise concerning Indian affairs. But, however "idealist" or "practical" the viewpoint, the actions have been unilateral--authoritarian.

To Indians, the Bureau of Indian Affairs must symbolize the authoritarian aspect of the relationship. The Indians must beg for their livelihood.

The Bureau holds their lands in trust, and releases land to an individual to manage as he sees fit only if it decides unilaterally that he is competent, as one might decide concerning a minor. The Bureau grants money for reservation or tribal expenditures, if it (or the national government) chooses. It grants relief grants in such amounts as it sees fit. And so on. The list of specific could be extended.

As history has developed, no other administrative relationship has been possible. The Indians were first controlled as an alien and conquered people. The ethics of the American society would not permit that they should be killed, as they would have killed a people whom they had subdued. Consequently they were treated as prisoners, made helpless, and fed and clothed. Then, in an economy which regarded their traditional use of land as intolerably wasteful and an interference with the American destiny, and which saw no limits to its ability to manipulate this piece of its environment as it was transforming all other sectors, it seemed necessary to end this strange relationship by making them into replicas of white Americans.

Made helpless, their every action in accordance with their own culture forbidden--in religion, in home life, in community relationships, in property relationships--the Sioux have responded with a type of behavior comparable to that characterized by clinical psychologists as "hostile dependence." This means that they are hostile and also that they are dependent, but it also means more: it means that they act as if they were using their dependence, the only weapon they perceived available to them until very recently, as a weapon against the Bureau.

The relationship is like that which sometimes emerges between a child and a mother who manages his every act--swamps him with attention and "love" (as she thinks), guides his every step, refuses to let him do things for himself, refuses to let him do what every child needs to do, give her something in return. Sometimes such a child, in an unconscious attempt to punish his mother, becomes completely passive in externals, and incapable of helping himself--learns to walk and to speak late and slowly, cannot feed himself, cannot learn to spell or to read, etc.--so that through his failure to develop his mother will feel her failure and will be punished. Having no other weapon, he makes his dependence one which operates with excruciating keenness against both individuals.

To a person acquainted with the psychological reaction sketched above, the Sioux seem to act similarly--to act as if by being completely passive, by leaving in the hands of the white society complete responsibility for their problems, they would remind the white of his incapacity to solve the problem he had so arrogantly set out to master. Every case of economic need, every individual delinquency is as if intended to make Bureau officials feel a sense of their personal failure, to cause them to feel guilt and defeat.

From another viewpoint, the situation may be explained in terms of the pre-conquest culture of the Sioux. The white society can be perceived as an all-powerful and all-good outside agency, having given the Sioux their lives when they were helpless before it; the Sioux endure misery now as they endured pain to prove to the all-powerful Wakan Tanka their worthiness to receive his grace. But before the white society for some reason chose to spare them, it first destroyed their life, and their passive hostility is as if they were using the only weapon they have to injure an enemy in the only way open to them; were cooperating in their own paralysis.

Let it be noted that any Sioux, presented with these comparisons, would deny them in bewilderment and probably with indignation, for the Sioux is not conscious of any desire except to improve his lot. These are interpretations, not of conscious decisions, but of the unconscious forces which determine human behavior. But the passivity of the Sioux, their inability to take the small actions necessary for small but real improvements, the tension in their rather unreal relationships to Bureau officials, cannot be explained except in terms of such unconscious forces. This is why the problem is so baffling and frustrating to Bureau officials in the field. The endless words of discussion of problems and decisions somehow do not get at the causes of behavior. To the writers of this report, the evidence of an emotional state more or less parallel to "hostile dependence" is undeniable; no other explanation fits all the facts of the case as convincingly as this one.

The remedy is the more difficult. For the American society is ready to offer economic inducement in any measure that seems effective. But to alter its own behavior in order to create a relationship in which the Sioux may be able to alter theirs, may be as difficult for white Americans as for red.

ii. Influencing social change

Not that we have not been bold in attempts of other types to influence the behavior of the Sioux. We have, as noted above, assumed that we can make them replicas of white men. Measures at influencing the motivations and attitudes of the Indians have long--but intermittently

--been a part of the program of the federal government for the Indians. One of the avowed purposes of the General Allotment Act of 1887, under which tribal lands were allotted to individual Indians, was to make "economic men" and contented citizens of the Indians through the influence of property ownership on their behavior. "The enjoyment and pride of the individual ownership of property," said Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, "is one of the most effective civilizing agencies."[4]

But Schurz was reading European attitudes into Indian minds. The General Allotment Act failed of its purpose. It did not make farmers of the Indians, in many cases made their economic conditions worse than before, and forced on them a breaking up of communities which they resented. Under the Act, many Indian tribes were induced to sell land that remained after the allotments had been made.[5] Later they regarded the government as having tricked them into these sales, and the effect of this plus the breakup of communities was to deepen in Indians the feeling that the whites had no regard for their welfare, and were treacherous (yet in an unaccountable way were weak and willing to give).

Later, it was thought that education of the Sioux children in federal schools would make them replicas of white Americans, and what Erikson has termed the "guerilla war over the children" ensued.[6]

"Children were virtually kidnaped," MacGregor notes, "to force them into government schools, their hair was cut and their Indian clothes thrown away.... Those who persisted in clinging to their old ways and those who ran away and were recaptured were thrown into jail. Parents who objected were also jailed.... Where possible, children were kept in school year after year to avoid the influence of their families."[7]

The attempts to influence personality failed. Although education in federal schools of course influenced the children, it had nothing like the effects anticipated, and the methods by which it was pursued had adverse effects, the intensification of cultural retreat to old values, which are still wielding their influence. Crude though these early attempts were, they may make us humble in proposing measures, for more refined measures may have unanticipated effects as well. But of course any measure is a measure for social change, whether by intention or inadvertently; few measures, for example, effect more drastic social change for the Indians than does the relocation program. Even individuals interested primarily in aiding--or coercing--the Sioux to economic self-support must be interested in what may be termed the sociology and psychology of the situation, for the Sioux will not become effective participants in the economic life of the American society (or of their own communities) until they become effective participants in all phases of life--until they emerge from the dream world into which they have withdrawn to use their energies in the real world. It seems desirable both to consider explicitly the social influence of measures adopted for other purposes and to propose measures specifically for their effect on social change.

iii. The goals of action

The immediate goals of action, then, must be, while preserving the Sioux from material suffering, to create conditions in which they can become more interested in life, in which they will feel some interest in their reservation community, some sense that they are participants in the decisions of that community and have some influence over their own lives. It must be to induce them to look at themselves; to enter into realistic discussion of how they can use their tribal institutions to serve their ends, of how they should organize to breach the divisions among themselves, of how to attack specific issues in their relationship to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the federal government.

Social rehabilitation will require creating conditions for bringing into the open, through participation in community life, the interests and attitudes that as of the moment exist in a secret world where the Sioux feels satisfaction in fantasies of being as different as possible from what white government, economy, education, and society in general are trying to force him into becoming. In the disorganized and disorganizing social system that results, the Sioux individual exists between two worlds and is alienated from both. For he does not really live in his traditional society any more than he does in the white society.

Rehabilitation will involve creating a situation in which the Sioux feel that it is of use beyond pleasurable verbal exercise to discuss among themselves what it is they want and how they can achieve it. The means to power bruited about in the dream-world include such fanciful ones as somehow clearing away the conspiracy which prevents small oil prospectors from coming in to discover the oil that would make the tribe rich; or recovering the Black Hills so that the mineral wealth that could be uncovered would accomplish the same end. These of course are not typical delusions, but extreme ones. But as long as discussions seem only tools which Bureau of Indian Affairs administrators are trying to manipulate to their own preconceptions of what is best, these fantasies seem as useful proposals as any. If community discussion could come to deal with real problems rather than being a swirling fog of emotion-laden symbols, life might have more vigor. It is hardly too strong a statement that it does not matter much what it becomes vigorous about, so long as some vitality enters it, for the process of putting energy into one set of problems may be expected to spread to others.

These prescriptions in general terms, however, gloss over the hard fact that bringing about such participation in community endeavors is an extremely difficult task. Committees, clubs, planning groups, and the like--all imports from the white society--will not be used if they seem merely added instruments by which the white administrators are trying to manage Sioux life, and unless they deal with matters which are of interest even in the present state of life in a demi-world between earth and sky, night and day.

In the absence of emergence of new attitudes among an occasional member of the tribes, we would not feel much optimism concerning the results of the measures we are about to propose. If the evasion of reality which is their main defense against reality, were universal among the Sioux, change in the formal institutions of the Sioux, which is about all that can be accomplished from the outside, would hardly touch them. But as we have suggested above, here and there leaders are arising who, while they look upon the Bureau primarily as an enemy, see realistic ways of moving above it and around it to escape its controls and accomplish their ends--immediate ends of small improvements, ultimate ends of revivifying Sioux life. Ultimately, they will undoubtedly achieve those ends, by by-passing present administrative arrangements if necessary. But to let this be the path of improvement is hardly a satisfactory course of action. The aim of the American government, however qualified it may be at times by political considerations and the immediate economic interests of limited groups, is to provide conditions in which the Indians can approach economically and socially satisfactory lives as rapidly as possible.

Even with the autonomous appearance here and there of more vigorous individuals, general change in the conditions of life will not occur quickly. For the attitudes, the personality, of Sioux individuals who are already adult are rather well fixed; a mature man who has learned deeply to protect himself against intrusion by being inert will not readily become vigorous. The changes we suggest will do no more than to offer the Sioux a slightly more permissive atmosphere in which to exert whatever energies are in them, and to direct them more realistically. The cumulative results will be slow, but they need not be negligible.

iv. Measures for change: the schools

We may begin with the schools, which as the formal means for the transmission of knowledge hold a central place in the struggle between the Sioux and the white society.

It would be desirable that the reservation residents should come to think of the schools as their schools; that the schools should become of greater significance to the adults of the community than they now are, and the adults of significance to the educational program of the schools.

One step toward this end would have been attained if, through Sioux initiative, the curriculum of the schools should come to include education in aspects of the Sioux culture in which traditional Sioux would like to see their children informed. We have in mind instruction in the Sioux language; in Sioux history, tradition, stories, songs, and dances; the making of artifacts symbolic of Sioux life; instruction in woodcraft and camping. We recommend that schools in which there are enough Sioux children to make it feasible should have such instruction in the Sioux language and culture, beginning in the earliest grades.

We suggest activities, however, only if the Sioux community is interested in having them incorporated in school activities (some of them as parts of the regular curriculum, others as extra-curricular activities), and will take responsibility for organizing instruction in them. We shall come back to this point below.

It would not be easy for either the Sioux or the white American community to participate in a realistic discussion of Sioux history. The first step by the Sioux would probably have to be organizing the writing of their history. Here, as in Sioux tradition and tales, fantasy and reality would struggle. That the history should be written to satisfy white sensitivities would be fatal to the purpose of the endeavor; but the problem is not merely Sioux version versus white version. Arranging the writing of a responsible history would require organization among the Sioux tribes that would probably bring to play the most effective leadership among them, in a purpose of all-Sioux interest that required inter-reservation contact of a specific purposeful type hardly brought into play since reservation life began.

It would probably be desirable for them to obtain funds for the purpose from a private source; the habits of federal dictation of the use of federal moneys might interfere with the effective use of federal funds for the purpose.

Parts of the program we suggest would parallel parts of national Boy Scout and Girl Scout programs. But the woodcraft, campcraft, and handicraft should be distinctively Sioux. Boy Scout and Girl Scout programs, we were told, have been introduced on one or both reservations, and have limped along. We suspect that a separate program would have better chance of success; if a Sioux scouting movement succeeded, it might subsequently consider its preference for affiliation with national white programs, and the terms on which it would be interested in affiliation. All that the Bureau administration should do to foster the program we suggest here is to make participation in the management of school activities available to the tribes (and, if desired, be a channel for the provision of information, though if Sioux interest became aroused, they would be entirely capable of creating their own channels of information).

Another program which might make use of the special cultural interests of the Sioux is the sports program. Because of their tradition of physical prowess, and possibly also because of some natural selection of physically skillful types, the Sioux excel in sports. While they are embarrassed at standing out within their own group, they seem to enter into team sports against outsiders without inhibition. We suggest that emphasis on sports above the degree of emphasis typical in South Dakota rural community schools, and an increase in present expenditures and emphasis, would be advantageous.

Community interest in the interscholastic sports program seems considerable; it should be used as one stone in the abutments for a bridge between the community and the schools.

Whether the recognition of such activities as part of the school program would improve the feeling of security with which Sioux children venture into the study of English and white American culture would depend on the entire emotional context of the schools. It seems to us likely that this favorable result might ensue. For any individual to venture into new areas of performance, it is necessary that he feel pride and assurance in himself; that he feel secure in his own background, feel that his identity is respected, have a firm base of operations from which to start. Indian children may well be better able to function successfully in new situations--whether those situations are employment in urban industry throughout the United States or life as farmers or ranchers in their present rural setting--if they feel that it is all right to be a Sioux. In order that the effect should be favorable, it is necessary that there should be a feeling of mutuality, a feeling that Sioux are giving to the school as well as passively receiving from it, a feeling of Sioux children that they have something to contribute to as well as receive from non-Sioux children.

We have described earlier the present atmosphere in which "being a Sioux" and "being an American" are contrasting and antipathetic conditions, and each Sioux child faces a choice in adolescence, often tragic for the individual, between being the one or the other. We have mentioned how, in high school, the necessity for deciding on one's identity, the necessity to identify oneself as a Sioux, has caused children who up to the seventh grade or later had manifested interest and initiative in their studies and in the words of their teachers had "blossomed," to withdraw into themselves, become lackluster and apathetic, and withdraw from school. Total enrollment by grades in the federally administered schools of Rosebud and Pine Ridge in the fiscal year 1958 makes the point forcefully:

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Enrollment	217	214	201	228	191	176	131	133	112	73	41	52

Source: Statistics Concerning Indian Education, Fiscal Year 1958, Bureau of Indian Affairs, cited by the Aberdeen Area Office.

While we do not have data from the locally administered schools, or from the parochial schools of the two reservations, it was administrators of the latter who most vividly described to us this withering up, withdrawing into self and from school, and retreating into reservation life, on which we have commented. We were told also, although without quantitative verification, that the same phenomenon is conspicuous among children who attend local public schools. It would be of interest to know whether it is less pronounced in those schools.

We judge that education in Sioux language and culture, because it indicates approval of that culture and of the individual who comes out of it, would contribute, even though only moderately, to lessening the traumatic nature of this "identity crisis" in adolescence, to permitting the individual to feel that it is possible to be a Sioux and an American at the same time, and would somewhat increase the number of individuals who go on to college and who pursue an adult life of one sort or another more comfortably and more successfully.

The greatest gain, however, might be the feeling on the part of Sioux adults that the schools are an instrument serving them, rather than an alien organization. If this result were achieved, even in small degree, it would cast its effect over school pupils as well.

There are other ways in which the community could make use of the schools, if it roused from its apparent lethargy and saw a means of doing so. The school buildings might be made available to a greater extent than they now are as community centers. High school girls might do sewing for the hospitals, become hospital aides, given organized assistance to visiting nurses. The boys might assist in building programs. If the tribal council seemed to serve an important function, a junior tribal council might be of interest to high school pupils, and might find very real juvenile problems to discuss.

But these activities will help the community to "come to life" only if they are desired by the community. If they are proposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they will be regarded, as the irrigation project apparently was, as one more tool by which the government is trying to make the Indians be and do what it wants, as entering wedges to be turned aside by group solidarity, or to be accepted without cooperating if they cannot be turned aside.

As one plank in a bridge between the community and the schools, we suggest that to the maximum extent the education program of each reservation should be guided by a board of education elected by the tribal members of that reservation.

At Rosebud, where the federal government has turned administration public schools over to the state of South Dakota, the schools are administered by a county board of education, elected by the voters of the county, as is true in other so-called unorganized counties in South Dakota. We have noted above that with one exception Indians have not been elected to the board, even though Todd County and the Rosebud reservation are almost coterminous. In this case, the tribal members now have power in their hands, if they choose to use it. Presumably they had failed to do so for one or both of two reasons: because the functioning of the schools seems so remote from them that they see no reason to be interested, or because they assume that even if they gained control of the school board somehow the state officials would keep them from exercising that control to their advantage. These views will probably change.

The administrative problem at Pine Ridge is more complex. An elected board of education would have to deal with federal agents concerning the expenditure of federal funds. We recognize the limitations on transfer of administrative authority imposed by federal budgetary requirements, and the extreme unlikelihood of transfer of final budgetary authority by Congress to a local board of education. Even if this were possible we would not think it advisable, for reasons mentioned below. Thus even if a local board existed, matters such as the size of the total budget and pay scales for both teachers and other school employees would have to be determined by the Bureau. But within these limitations, the possibility of delegating real authority to the board of education, if federal authorities elected to do so, would be great--for example, authority concerning the curriculum beyond minima required for accreditation, concerning school hours, consolidation or maintenance of separate schools within limits set by the total budget, use of school facilities for community purposes, justification of requested additions to the budget, e.g., for school lunches, buses, extra-curricular activities, etc. etc.-- and allocation of the more limited funds if the full sums requested could not be obtained from Washington. All of these decisions could be real ones.

The effect of the operation of such a board of education in building a bridge between the community and the schools would depend, however, on the degree to which the United States administrative officials in fact respected the wishes of the board of education concerning the schools, even with respect to matters in which those wishes caused a deterioration in the quality of education as judged by the conventional standards. For mock autonomy, in which real authority is retained by the federal administrators, would parallel the situation with respect to almost all aspects of reservation affairs at present, and would fool no one.

We recognize the real difficulties in the administration of such a proposal. The situation is a typical "colonial" one. Colonial governments all over the world have found that when they offer tokens of governmental authority to colonies, but maintain the real authority themselves, the indigenous people are not fooled and cynically abstain from participation in the shadow government, and the individuals who do obtain the offices often use them for personal graft, this being regarded by the indigenous people as a matter between these individuals and the authorities and not a matter of public morality. This effect has sometimes been assumed to result primarily because the grants of power are not real ones. We judge that the cause lies deeper.

The administering powers (in the eyes of the governed people) are not concerned with the welfare of the group, as the group sees it, but rather hostile to it, and desire instead to obtain "progress" only as they define it. It is therefore legitimate to attack them by refusing to progress as they wish and by wasting their money, until such time as the group can overthrow them and serve its own interests as it itself interprets them.

There would be a considerable tendency for this effect to occur on the Indian reservations. There might be--at Pine Ridge we would judge that there would be--a tendency to vote oneselves exaggerated per diems, to vote to hire unneeded custodial employees, etc. etc. Success of such tactics tends to destroy the sense of mutuality of purpose and prevent a perception of the schools as agencies constructively serving community purposes. However, we suggest that there may be intermediate ground, in which the federal administrators say in effect, "there is no use glossing over the fact that ultimate control of the funds is ours, but, reserving the right to discuss your proposals vigorously with you, and probe the arguments by which you support them, we will accede to your judgment of what the schools should be, beyond minima curricula required for accreditation, so long as in our judgment your proposals are for what you regard as true community interests. This we will do even though in our judgment your proposals waste funds and do not serve educational interests as well as sould some alternative."

We do not know that leaders with serious educational purposes (even though they disagreed with federal administrators' views of appropriate goals and means) would gain election to the board of education. We suspect that the election of a board of education would first be regarded as another device to manipulate the Indians, and that members who could be trusted not to cooperate with the Bureau would be elected. The test would be, not this, but whether, if the existence of real though circumscribed power continued over a number of years, more effective leadership would emerge. In section x below, we discuss the difficulties in putting this and other parallel programs into effect, and the prospects that they might succeed.

v. A digression: other aspects of school administration

Before we propose other measures to relate the Sioux more closely to their community, we digress to discuss two other aspects of the administration of schools which Sioux children attend, the question of federal versus local administration and that of maintenance of schools especially for Sioux children versus racially mixed schools.

The only federal school at Rosebud is a boarding school, maintained for orphans and for other children whose parents choose to send them to boarding school because of the inaccessibility of a school of the appropriate grade to their residence or for some other reason (e.g., lack of income to maintain the child in adequate food and clothing at home). Within the Pine Ridge reservation, public schools (by which term we refer to schools locally rather than federally administered) have also been established in various communities, and children of tribal families whose residences are so located that attendance at these schools is most convenient attend them, reimbursement being made by the federal government to the local school district. There are parochial schools on both reservations. The distribution of grade and high school pupils at the two reservations in 1957-58 by type of school attended is shown in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1

Number of Pupils Attending School, Classed by Type of School

Fiscal Year 1958

	Rosebud	Pine Ridge
Public schools	1,160	937
Private (parochial) schools	365	672
Federal schools:		
Boarding schools	173	823
Day schools	6	1,234
Totals	1,704	3,666

Source: Statistics Concerning Indian Education, Fiscal Year 1958, Bureau of Indian Affairs (cited by Aberdeen Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs).

The maintenance of special schools for Indian children is more likely under federal than local administration. The two questions thus are interwoven.

The considerations which favor maintenance of special schools are that many Indian children come to school less fluent in the English language, and with markedly different backgrounds of custom and viewpoint, than do non-Indian children; hence they are at a handicap in schools designed primarily for non-Indian children, and will not receive education adapted to their background. For this reason, the maintenance of federal schools is urged. Further, it is asserted (and clearly in accord with the facts) that federal schools are typically better financed, employ better teachers, and maintain better standards, than rural local schools--and Indian children need the best education they can get.

On the other hand, it is argued that in mixed schools Indian children lose their sense of being segregated, and that this result is of great value. Further, it is stated (and undoubtedly true) that children learn language and viewpoints from other children far more rapidly than they do from formal education, and that the progress of Indian children in the English language, and the development of a sense of ability to handle relationships with non-Indians, will occur far more rapidly in mixed schools than in schools which maintain the segregation of Indian children.

We believe that the arguments on both sides, as stated above, are correct. Because of the great importance of informal education of children by children, and the great need for Indian children to have experience in contacts with non-Indian children, we judge that net advantage lies in mixed schools, unless the inferiority of the formal education offered is very great. We concur, however, in the argument that because of their position as ethnic aliens, Indian children need and deserve the best education which can be provided to them. In this respect we see a loss in the transfer of control and administration of grade and high school units to local school authorities, when the transfer is accompanied by no merger of the school with a school for non-Indian children. Such transfer, under the general principle of reduction of federal functions and maximazation of state and local functions, is consistent with the general principles of the present federal administration. However, transfer where the pupils continue to be predominantly Sioux and the federal government continues predominantly to finance the education is a violation of the administrative principle that the creation of authority without responsibility is unsound. We judge that on practical grounds, such transfers should not be made.

Racial intermixture within the schools is of course possible under either type of administration. Federal schools may admit local pupils, as well as the opposite. Where the transfer to local administration brings racial mixture which is not otherwise likely to occur, it brings an advantage to Indian pupils which should be weighed against the possible reduction in quality of instruction.

The parochial schools are an integral and useful part of the present school system. We would not recommend, on behalf of the furtherance of mixed schools, any change in the present arrangement by which the federal government pays tuition and support for children who choose to attend parochial schools. Any shift among schools should be by the choice of the children and families involved.

vi. Changes in administration: other reservation activities

We believe that the principle of granting to the tribes power to control their own destinies should be applied not merely in school affairs, but as widely as possible.

We have recommended in Chapter 4 that administration of a reservation-wide work program be placed in the hands of tribal representatives. The reasons are parallel to those relating to school administration. Here, too, there is no point in attempting to ignore the fact that final financial control is vested in the Bureau. Necessarily, the budgetary process would take much of final control out of the hands of tribal administrators. We suggest that the total budget, pay scales both for work recipients and the administrators of the program and the total monthly payroll should be set by the Bureau. In this program too defensive hostile misuse of funds might be a danger, which should be met by a policy parallel to that suggested above concerning the schools. If the Bureau fully cooperated in the administration of the program as a tribal program, truly leaving in the hands of those leaders the selection of projects which they felt would best serve the members of the tribe even if the Bureau officials felt them misguided and unwise, the material results might be objectively less desirable in some sense than others would have been, but the results by way of reawakening a sense of community activity as a real part of the lives of the Sioux themselves might be well worth the cost.

For parallel reasons, if a home for the aged and a home for orphans were constructed, their administration should be by the tribe. If the tribes want these institutions, they will be able to find fully capable administrative ability among their members. Among our informants on the reservations were a number whose personal capacities impressed us favourably, and for a service approved by the tribe, it would no doubt also be possible to attract individuals who have left the reservations.

As a contrary example, consider the administration of Federal welfare funds. To turn administration of relief over to the tribes, if feasible, would be desirable. Responsibility for care of their own members would lessen their sense of the outside control of their lives. But the prospect that Sioux officials might use funds as a weapon to frustrate Bureau officials is so great that Sioux administration could hardly be envisaged. But the total available, as the tribal members well know, is not an objectively fixed sum. It depends on the need. The result is that tribal administrators would be under great pressure to make the grants to individuals as large as they could find plausible reason for doing, perhaps closing their eyes to other sources of income, and to come to the Bureau with request for more funds, in the knowledge that, funds being gone, the Bureau could not let individuals starve.

But such a case, where the tensions between tribe and Bureau are the greatest, is not a good test of the efficacy of a program to grant the tribes more control over their own lives. Perhaps the crucial test would be in the operations of the tribal councils. The tribal councils are now clearly regarded by most Sioux as instruments by which the Bureau administrators manipulate them, rather than instruments by which the Sioux themselves may act. But the possibility of using the tribal council as a tool for the furthering of Sioux purposes is obviously realized by some leaders. At Rosebud, the existence of a tribal entity has been used by the resourceful chairman of the tribal council as a device for obtaining grants from private sources for the purchase and operation of an ambulance, available to transport any tribal member from any reservation village to the hospital at the village of Rosebud without cost, and a bus, which will provide free transportation among the reservation villages; and for obtaining a loan which has permitted the establishment of a minimum size cattle herd. Without the existence of an entity to which grants or loans might be made, these operations would hardly have been possible. It is easy to visualize other activities by the tribal council, if financing can be found and if the council realized its potential as the agent of a corporate entity. The range of possible actions includes short-run internal ones, such as the establishment of community movies and the organization of volunteer fire department; ones perhaps of more civic import, such as creation of a citizens' court, adult education in the privileges and potentials of citizenship, the establishment of mass communications media services to the reservations, enforcement of law and order as a relationship between the individual and his own community rather than a relationship, divisive to the tribe, between him and alien authority, and reorganization of the internal political structure; social welfare measures to alleviate the problems of individual delinquency; and economic enterprises of considerable scope, such as the creation of a tribal cattle enterprise, the operation of a tribal land enterprise to consolidate scattered and fragmented individual holdings, and the financing of individual ranching enterprises by tribal members. We discuss two of these programs separately in the following sections.

Some of these things are occurring now at Rosebud. We suggest, as an invitation to both tribes to consider their own welfare and act concerning it, that the Bureau make available annually to each tribe a sum of money, say $10,000, to be used for the community activity which the tribal council thinks most advantageous. It should be unavailable for per capita payments to tribal members or for unemployment relief--the assumption being that the Bureau has otherwise provided minimum income and is providing these funds for such other uses as the tribe desires.

In such a context, the funds might be expected to stimulate real debate within the tribe concerning their use, real discussion of alternative tribal desires.

We recognize the possible failure of the program. Any limitation on the purpose of expenditure, even such as prohibition of per capita payments, constitutes constriction and direction of tribal activity, lends the familiar flavor of "manipulation to make us progress as the Bureau wants us to progress, toward being little white men," and invites the familiar evasion, malingering, and dependency to frustrate the "oppressors'" purposes and preserve group resistance.

Yet the opportunity for group action to shape the group's own life that is made possible by unrestricted grants is so great that it would be a powerful inducement to realistic discussion of alternative actions.

vii. Mass communications

We are not of the view that the entry of mass communications will surely vitalize any apparently lethargic area. But at a period when stir is beginning within the group, the existence of effective means of communication to all members can be a tool accelerating the pace of change. That situation seems to exist now.

The so-called "moccasin telegraph" is now the major means of mass communication on the reservations--an informal word-of-mouth system that is very effective in conveying to the Sioux a view of events distorted by the reactions of intermediaries. There is no other means of distributing promptly throughout the reservations important information that may be essential for developing a shared knowledge of the situations confronting the Sioux.

The Rosebud leaders are already taking the initiative in attempting to provide mass information within their limited means. The tribal council prepares and mimeographs its own informative sheets; this could be made more effective if economic and technical resources were available. Entertaining and informative broadcasts in the Siouan language from nearby radio stations will be tried if necessary funds can be raised. General news and nonpartisan education in voting procedures and possibilities, and other public duties of citizenship will be carried on these programs. The potential importance of such efforts is great. The Sioux may continue to initiate and carry out such projects if they can run them as projects of their own.

viii. Individual rehabilitation

Perhaps only less than among the ethnic groups of our large cities who suffer from somewhat the same sets of circumstances that plague the Sioux, individual demoralization is a problem on the reservations. We have referred to the thefts, personal violence, drunkenness, and sexual delinquency (in white American terms) which occur on the reservations, and to the interband tensions and unified resistance to intrusion that prevent report of occurrences to the constituted authorities. Even during the pre-reservation period, Indians were notably incapable of "holding their liquor"; a little "firewater" was capable of releasing the controls within which the individual held himself, and causing actions not normally sanctioned by his group. For the sexual delinquency, Sioux who verbalize their attitudes toward it probably blame the white culture, and with justification. Chastity of unmarried girls within the Sioux bands was high, not only because marriage was early but also because while the society permitted aggressive action by the males in this as in all other respects, virginity was guarded by constraints on behavior which were effective and socially approved and rewarded. The American society has taught the girls freedom of behavior unknown to the Sioux, while the tensions of reservation life have left the men more frustrated, not only with far fewer outlets to relieve their aggressions and to prove their masculinity than were available in their own society but fewer than are available elsewhere in American society. As a result, sexual irregularities are frequent.

The basic causes of these various manifestations of individual demoralization will not be met by punishment, for the Sioux society will protect itself from the divisive influence of that interference by white authority in its life. Neither will they be met by social welfare measures; they will be met basically only when life as a whole is more satisfying. Meanwhile, however, aids to the socially isolated individuals involved may alleviate some of the worst results and aid in the process of improvement in life as a whole.

Punishment of drunkenness of young men serves no useful purpose in the circumstances of Sioux society. If the Sioux themselves would sanction the use of jails, or the construction of other facilities, for the purpose, it would be helpful to establish "sobering up stations," where an individual obviously incapable of self-management but not otherwise an offender to the peace might be guided to sleep until sober, and then given breakfast and sent home. The device is used in some European countries. It would prevent the establishment of police records for young men, who are not in the least criminal in their behavior, which may be obstacles to their obtaining employment later or to other roles as citizens. Because the Sioux themselves, especially traditional individuals, are so fearful of the tendency toward drunkenness, and condemn it so inflexibly, tribal sanction of this procedure might not be granted. But the matter might well be raised for group consensus.

Beyond this, the conventional measures of aiding socially isolated individuals, if they have the approval of the Sioux community itself, would be useful--the provision of social welfare workers, who might attempt to create boys' clubs, to lead in organized recreation, etc. These, admittedly, are palliatives, not a cure. If the welfare workers were provided by the Bureau in the usual unilateral fashion, they would be the less acceptable and the less useful.

ix. Aid from private agencies

Precisely because the lines of relationship with--or against--federal direction are so firm, the prospects for constructive tribal action will be greater to the degree to which the tribe is able to recruit the aid of non-governmental agencies. In our complex society, there are many such sources to which resourceful leaders may turn for either financial or technical aid--foundations, educational institutions, clubs and associations of various types, action-oriented church organizations such as those of the Quakers and Unitarians. It is apt to be easier for the tribes to trust the advice of such groups, and to feel that they are using the advisors rather than being directed by them, than to establish equivalent relationships with federal employees.

x. Difficulties and prospects

We suggest these various lines of action without the expectation that their adoption, even the simultaneous adoption of all of them, would promptly galvanize the tribes and set them on a road of energetic achievement leading to social and economic satisfaction and self-support. At various points above we have indicated the strength of the resistances, suspicions, emotional patterns, habits of behavior, vested interests, frozen lines of relationship, individual tensions, which tend to perpetuate the present situation.

But as an observed fact rather than a theoretical expectation, we note that individual leaders are emerging who are leading their groups to effective actions and attitudes even at present. This phenomenon is not limited to Rosebud, or to the Sioux. The activities of tribal leaders in the long fight of the Tuscaroros against the loss of lands to the New York State Power Authority, of Frank Ducheneaux and Anthony Rivers in creating cattle enterprises at Cheyenne River, of several leaders among various tribes in the southwest, and of Robert Burnette at Rosebud, are only the more conspicuous examples of initiative which are appearing in economic, political, and other areas here and there throughout the country.

In some measure it was due at this stage in the historical process of the subjugation and control of the Indians, their defensive lapse into apathy and passive resistance, and their emergence from it. Enough time has elapsed so that some reaction might be expected. In some measure, it has probably been stimulated by the independence movement among colonial countries throughout the world. It may reasonably be assumed that the success of colonial peoples in gaining control of their own affairs has resonated in the minds of individuals here and there and everywhere among the American Indian tribes. To some extent, also, it is a product of the restoration of tribal government under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, since that restoration gave tribes an instrument for action which had been taken from them almost a half century previously. Whatever the reason, there is more evidence of Indian initiative now than previously. The more facilitating the environment, the more readily is that leadership apt to be effective in creating vigor among Indian groups, thereby serving jointly their interests and those of the American people.

An intriguing and hopeful sign is the methods by which those leaders are solving the problems of operating within their tribes. For they are hampered as truly as is the Bureau of Indian Affairs by the divisions and suspicions within the tribes, the conviction that Indians are helpless before overwhelming power and can safely do nothing but use their dependence as a weapon, the defense mechanism of retreating from reality to nostalgic emotions and passive inaction, the suspicion that any positive action will somehow be used by the government administrators to trick the Indians and accomplish their purposes.

The Indian leaders have operated in this situation by maneuvering within their tribes as skillfully as any ward politician or local political leader. They have made deals with little groups within the tribes, arranged "log-rolling" among them, identified themselves with their symbols, relieved their anxieties symbolically as well as practically. Since the number of activists is certain to grow rather than to decrease, and since the results of first small successful sallies by the tribes will be cumulative in their effects on group attitudes, hope for effective action is more justified now than it would have been two decades or even one decade ago.

It would not do to be naively optimistic at present. For example, among the considerable number of mature and thoughtful individuals tc whom one or both of us talked at Pine Ridge, none is clearly visible now as a tribal leader in the near future, who might be as effective as Burnette and Valandra at Rosebud. Putting into effect at Pine Ridge the measures we have sketched above might for some years meet no response; the distrust and passivity might continue largely unchanged. Yet there are a number of alert and interested individuals in the various communities at Pine Ridge; at some time tribal leadership may emerge fairly suddenly there.

A difficulty as great as that arising from the attitudes and patterns of behavior that have been bred deeply into the Sioux may be that arising from the authoritarian attitudes and patterns of behavior of the Bureau staff. Change throughout the organization would be necessary. The sense of direction given from Washington would have to change drastically, from one of making the Sioux into white men into permitting them to be individuals. The bureaucratic execution of directives via a long administrative chain would have to be replaced by flexibility in the field. The habit of exercising authority in the field would have to be converted into one of permitting them to take their affairs into their own hands. The sense of personal injury felt by Bureau personnel at the passage of authority out of their hands, of personal defeat as funds were spent for projects they considered wasteful, of guilt and frustration at their failure to lead the Indians in the way in which according to the administrators' view of life they ought to go, would work powerfully toward making it impossible for them to function in the ways we have suggested. In other words, American administrators are as much the prisoners of their own cultural and social setting as are American Indians, and the difficulties of change for them may be as great. Behind all of these changes would have to lie willingness of the American social, political and economic system to permit the Sioux greater freedom of action. Congress would have to sanction policies which for various reasons it may oppose.

If these obstacles prove too great, progress will nevertheless occur, as we have suggested. The "colonial" relationship of the American society to the Indians will work itself out as similar relationships are doing elsewhere in the world, and without the physical turmoil that accompanies the process in many other places. But the progress will be slower than it might otherwise be.

xi. Research

Concerning all of the problems discussed above, the information available is incomplete, impressionistic, qualitative. The phrases, "we judge," "in our opinion," or some equivalent, appear many times in this report. In some cases, they relate to conclusions which are necessarily a matter of judgment, but in many other cases, they relate to facts which could be known with more accuracy than they are known. In our opinion, obtaining both a more complete knowledge of the facts and further analysis of the situation based on increased factual knowledge would be well worth the necessary expenditure of money and effort. Our recommendations below relate in general to reservations throughout the country, but also specifically to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations.

Some of the information and analysis would be purely economic. It would probably be worthwhile, for example, to have a market and resources analysis made relating to a number of reservations in the United States, to provide suggestions concerning the types of industry which might possibly be attracted to them. If the reservations selected ranged from one or two for which the prospects, at a quick survey, seemed good, to one or two (such as Rosebud and Pine Ridge) for which the prospects seemed poor, some flavor of the possibilities of the entire industrial development program might be obtained.

It would be worthwhile to obtain information concerning employment and unemployment of reservation residents, more specific and detailed than that obtained by the census cited in Chapter 2. After such a census of income and employability, a more elaborate sample survey in which the occupation of a number of individuals throughout the year was traced, would provide information concerning the magnitude of the employment-employability problem. Questions concerning how seasonal employment obtained was learned of might provide added useful information. Obtaining accurate information in such a survey, rather than information filtered through both imperfect memory and suspicions of the purposes of inquiry, would be difficult; employment of skilled and sympathetic interviewers would b e necessary.

Other items of information, relating to the well-being of the individuals and the functioning of their society, would provide a broader basis for policy formation. It would for example, be useful to know the state of health and nutrition and the housing facilities of families at the two reservations (and other reservations). The United States Public Health Service, which has been administering health care for only a relatively short time, may already be planning such surveys.

It would be very useful to have a skilled study of why individuals who return to the reservations after choosing relocation in a city do so, and why individuals who remain permanently in urban life do this. A questionnaire type survey would not give adequate answers. The reasons for their actions which individuals themselves state will give only a rather superficial explanation. This is not merely because they conceal true answers--as they may--but because the individual himself does not understand the attitudes and evaluations of situations to which he responds. "Depth interviews" by skilled social-psychological analysts would be necessary. The information obtained would not enable fully accurate prediction of the likelihood that each individual who attempted urban life would remain in it. At best a large margin of uncertainty would remain. But it should both improve somewhat the basis for selection of individuals and understanding of the possibilities and limitations of the relocation program.

It would be useful to have systematic studies of what life on the reservations is like, since that life determines what kinds of individuals will emerge. To what extent is the nuclear family of husband, wife, and children an established institution on the reservations? What percentage of marriages break up? What percentage of children lose one or both parents in the course of growing up, live in two or more homes, or under a succession of two or more individuals who serve as their mother? Their father? Why? To what extent does the kinship structure provide bonds? What kinds of bonds? What are the attitudes toward federal schools? Public schools? Parochial schools?--not the "official" attitudes stated publicly, but the attitudes/ expressed by individuals in private conversations?

What is the incidence of alcoholism? What types of individuals are prone to it? What are the present sources of personal maladjustment? From what backgrounds do well-adjusted individuals come?

How does informal leadership function? What sorts of individuals are looked to for advice and guidance in different situations? How do they exercise their influence?

We will not attempt here to spell out a justification for obtaining such kinds of knowledge; the justification is implicit in our discussions above and in Part II of the processes at work on the reservations and the problems present. It is significant that with a few partial exceptions no officials on the reservations have responsibility for knowledge of any of these conditions. We recommend that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should concern itself with them. We do not here express an opinion whether the initial approach should be through investigations by consultants employed by the Bureau, or by establishing a Bureau staff for the purpose, but we do suggest that in either case, employment of a very small staff of social scientists with pertinent professional training, interest, and capabilities would be desirable.

The tribal councils themselves may be interested in initiating such studies, in cooperation with universities and foundations.

FOOTNOTES

1. Final Report of the American Friends Service Committee Pine Ridge Reservation Program, South Dakota, January 1955-December 1958, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, July 1959, mimeo.

2. MacGregor, Warriors Without Weapons, pp. 212-214;

Thompson, Personality and Government, pp. 88-93.

3. See Chapter 8.

4. Quoted in Fey and McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, p. 72

5. After 160 acres had been allotted to each Indian family, and 80 acres to each single adult, much added land remained, which the Act provided might be purchased by the government (and then opened to non-Indian settlement). It is said that some of the support for the Act came from individuals who wanted an opportunity to occupy this land which had been reserved for the Indians under previous treaties and Acts of Congress. The record of the discussion of the Act over an eight-year period indicates that this is undoubtedly true, but it is also clearly true that many supporters, for example Schurz, were entirely sincere in their judgment that the beneficial effects of individual property ownership would bring rapid economic and social advance for the Indians.

6. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 101.

7. MacGregor, op. cit., p. 36.

PART II

ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM:

THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

Part I is complete in itself; our recommendations have been presented. It has been necessary, however, to state rather briefly our conclusions concerning Sioux motivations and behavior and the ways in which Sioux-white relationships have affected them. Part II presents the basis for our judgments. The analysis is rather technical (psychological), and is necessarily intended primarily for a professional audience.

Chapter 7. A Sketch of Sioux History[1]

i. Introduction: the impact of trade on Indian life

There is no reason to believe that before the coming of the white man to North America the Indian tribes lived as peaceful neighbors respecting permanent boundaries. Quite to the contrary, historians agree that the geographical distribution of the Indian had been in constant flux from prehistoric times. For most Indian tribes war had always been a necessity, a vocation, a sport, or a cult. They fought each other for hunting grounds, pastures, for revenge, and often for the fun of it or for the greater glory of the warriors.

The coming of the white man injected into this situation the element of commercial trade, which became the main vehicle of cultural contact and social transformation. Since the first voyage of John Cabot in 1498 all accounts of European visits to eastern North America describe the presence of Indians offering to trade furs for manufactured goods.

In 1534 and 1535 Cartier, traveling up the St. Lawrence, found European fishermen engaged in trade with the Indians. In the next seventy years the fur trade became deeply implanted in the ancient intertribal trading system. When Champlain arrived in 1603, he found that a complex system of collecting furs and distributing goods had developed, and that continuous tribal warfare was going on in which European weapons were the decisive element in the balance of power.

Tribes were coveted by the Europeans as sources of supply, and played one against the other. The Indians found themselves in the middle of a new competitive system which expanded rapidly as the French penetrated the Great Lakes region.

The history of the Iroquois points to the extensive trading chain that was established and its impact not only on the material culture of these people but on the whole social and political system in which they had lived until that time.

In 1624 the Dutch established the trading post of Fort Orange at the junction of the Mohawk River with the Hudson; later it became the city of Albany. The Dutch trade gave the Iroquois access to firearms to fight back the Algonquins and Hurons, who had earlier displaced them from part of their lands with arms obtained from the French. By 1649 the Iroquois had overrun the Hurons and had pushed them out of their country. As many as eight thousand Hurons starved to death, and the rest were dispersed. Into the late 1650's the Iroquois continued to wage extensive warfare against the Eries and the Petuns, who were allies of the French. They only became subdued after they had spent themselves during ten years of war with their kinsmen to the south, the Susquehannas. Trade with the Europeans and the obtaining of firearms from them had drastically altered the Iroquois way of life, even before they were conquered by the whites.

ii. The rise of the Sioux to power and prosperity

The push of new power and influence, following the trade routes north, south and west, caused a drastic rearrangement of Sioux life and of their intertribal relationships, just as it did for all other tribes. Around 1650, the Dakota-Sioux were one of several related tribes living in the headwaters of the Mississippi. There are no known records of Sioux society before the arrival of Europeans in the northeastern section of North America. Knowledge of the details of their lives up to the time when the push of European technology finds them at the headwaters of the Mississippi is sketchy. They are known to have belonged to a larger group of tribes, related by language and common history, who, following the river, had come to this region from the south. At one time they lived in the Ohio Valley or even further in the Deep South. As they moved northward they left in their path straggling bands who had taken to semi-sedentary forms of existence. The bands that pushed to the north were reputed to be the most savage and warlike.

By 1650 these Dakotas had already been fighting the Algonquin tribes that lived to the north for some time. At first the Sioux had the better of these fights, but the Algonquins, as they came in contact with the French in Canada and later with the English on Hudson Bay, obtained firearms which turned the scales on the Sioux, who were forced to move south. The first major wave of Sioux migration away from the Mississippi headwaters seems to have taken place around 1670.

Among these first Sioux bands to move were the Yanktonais, who included the Yanktons and the Tetons. These bands retired southwestward through the tall-grass prairies west of the Mississippi and reached the elbow-bend of the Minnesota River, in the Swan Lake region. At this point they were faced with the problem of whether to cross the river and occupy the open prairie to the south, or to follow the river northwestward, keeping to the more protected wooded country. Hyde suggests that the Sioux solved this problem as they usually settled any disagreement, by quarreling and breaking into factions, each going its own way. The parent or conservative group took the northward protected course and the more enterprising bands crossed into the grass lands.

The Tetons represented this aggressive faction, which here separated from the parent group and went west into the buffalo country. These Tetons were formed of two related tribes: the Oglalas and the Brulés.

By 1700 the Oglalas and the Brulés were hunting as far west as the James River and beyond. This westward move was not peaceful, since the Cheyenne, Iowas, and Otoes claimed these plains as their own. The Tetons moved in and displaced these other tribes, but it would be absurd to picture this action as the movement of a massive conquering horde. These people drifted here and there in small groups, following the buffalo herds. Still without horses, they moved slowly on foot, transporting their possessions on the backs of dogs and women.

Even small girls of six and seven had to carry burdens in this trek. Each spring they moved east to meet their kin from the Mississippi from whom they received guns and manufactured goods acquired at the trading post on the river. These small wandering bands would periodically merge with related groups and take part in expeditions against the tribes on the Missouri. These great war parties were the groups that in fact carried out the periodic and sporadic conquest of lands to the west.

Until 1770, the westward movement of the Tetons was halted at the Missouri by the Arikaras, a rich populous tribe living in large villages with as many as 20,000 inhabitants. The sheer massiveness of this group, which in a single village could mobilize 4,000 warriors, kept the Sioux from moving west. To these rich villages the Sioux seem to have come in small groups begging for food, but as often as not would return in large war parties to steal horses. During this time the French and Indian War had forced the French to stop trading on the Upper Mississippi for several years, so that the Sioux were wanting in arms and ammunition.

From 1772 on, the Arikaras suffered great epidemics of smallpox that severely weakened them and opened them to destruction by the Tetons, who were now armed with new supplies of weapons. Around 1775 the Arikaras abandoned the country near the Great Bend of the Missouri. The Oglalas crossed the river and were soon followed by the Brulés.

Oglalas and Brulés were at this time small groups. They had left behind many of the original bands in their migration to the Missouri. Their small number did not stop them from moving boldly into the open plains and quickly acquiring many horses as well as much game. The renown of these small bands reached their related groups to the east, who year after year came to join them in increasing numbers.

Life had been very hard for the Tetons in their march to the Missouri.

They had often lived for long periods of time near starvation. After they crossed the river with plenty of new horses, life became easier, especially for the women. By 1800, their population was growing at a rapid pace. In 1804 Lewis and Clark found the Oglalas and Brulés thriving and consolidated West of the Missouri and ranging even west of the Black Hills. The lands they had previously occupied east of the river now supported the related group of Yanktons.

Between 1795 and 1834 the French traders from St. Louis established a post on the Missouri near the Great Bend, and the Tetons developed a yearly cycle that brought them eastward to winter trading on the Missouri, then back westward, hunting on the way, as far as the Black Hills, where they spent the rest of the year. Soon after 1804-5 the Oglala bands began spending their winters in the eastern slopes of the Black Hills, near Bear Butte. In the spring they would follow the Bad River, hunting as they went. At the Missouri they would settle in large encampments with bands of Brulés and Saone-Sioux, to attack the traders going north to the Arikaras and Mandans. The Sun Dance was held at these times as a prelude to a great war party against enemy tribes. As winter came they would then regularly move back to the Black Hills, usually in the neighborhood of other friendly tribes.

In 1817 American companies entered the Indian trade among the Brulés and Oglala. Competition between commercial interests became keen from then on, and traders came to resort more and more to hard liquor as an incentive. Trade wars flooded this country with cheap alcohol.

The trade wars also brought the Tetons into their first military alliance with the American army. The Arikaras attacked a large party of white trappers in 1823; although most of the trappers managed to escape, thirteen were killed. The American traders asked for help from the military in the upper Missouri, and were sent a small force of infantry and riflemen. The traders at the same time urged the Tetons to join them in a crusade against the Arikara. A large number of Oglalas, Brulés and related bands joined the troops, whole bands having come in full force from east of the Missouri. The total task force, Indian and European, totalled eleven hundred men, almost twice the number of Arikara warriors. Sioux tradition has it that the American officer hesitated and parleyed so long that the entire Arikara village was able to slip away in the night, leaving the Indian warriors feeling cheated. This uneventful campaign filled the Tetons with anger and contempt for the military.

Sometime later the Tetons on their own attacked and defeated the Arikaras, forcing them to retreat to the Upper Missouri. In the summer of 1825 a mission from Washington arrived in a steamboat to sign the first treaty of peace and friendship with these Sioux and other tribes of this region, which now had grown in economic and political importance.

The period between 1805 and 1835 is probably the highest point of happiness and prosperity for the Brulés and Oglalas. Living in this remote section of the plains, they were relatively untroubled. The game was plentiful, and in their memories even the wars of this period were surrounded with deep nostalgia.

iii. The decline of Sioux society

It happened that during these years the American Fur Company had a practical monopoly of the trade with the Tetons. This company discouraged white trappers and dealt almost exclusively with Indian hunters. A rival trading company had been growing for some years, using white trappers who pushed as far as the Rockies, where they found great quantities of fine furs. This new Rocky Mountain Company soon came in open competition with the American Fur Company. In 1834 business associates of the Rocky Mountain Company, convinced the Oglala that they should move south to the River Platte to a new trading post. In a short time the Oglalas ~~are~~ were followed by Brulé groups and kindred bands.

The game was plentiful in their new home, but the Tetons also found endless trouble. New trade wars began, and liquor was used again as an inducement by traders. A whole new set of enemy tribes faced the Tetons. Traders sided now with this group, now with the other; friction began to develop between the Indians and the white trappers; violent factions sprang up among the Tetons. This inner strife culminated in the murder of Bull Bear in 1841-42. The killing of this Oglala chief further divided the Sioux into factions which scattered and drifted in the absence of strong leadership.

When the Teton moved south in 1834 to be near the traders, they took the step that marked the beginning of their decline. They were no longer hunters and gatherers living within a self-sustained economy, but were now caught in a new economic system partly beyond their control, in which they were providers of raw materials and received manufactured goods in exchange. The raw material they now exploited to virtual disappearance was the buffalo. When the buffalo were gone they had lost both the basis of their earlier economy and the only currency they could bring to the new economic system. It is obvious that this climactic step was in preparation in the years before 1834, during which the Sioux became progressively enmeshed in the new economy and technology, and became more and more alienated from the self-sufficiency and consistency of their traditional ways. We will see that from this point onward the Sioux become scattered and divided. The inner stresses of their society broke into the open when they submitted themselves to economic interdependence. When finally military and political conquest by the whites threatened, they were bewildered and confused. They had already lost their inner core as a culture.

It is true that following the years of decline and wandering between 1834 ar 1845 the Sioux fought a long war with amazing vigor, given the lack of strong leadership. But they were fighting for an empty land that no longer had economi use to them without the buffalo which they themselves had helped to destroy.

At just about the time when they moved south, the Tetons had to face for the first time the problem of immigrants. Drifting and divided, they found it almost impossible to cope with the new crisis.

They transferred their growing resentment of white traders and trappers to the immigrants who in turn looked upon both the Indians and the traders with distaste and fear. The hate and mistrust of the white immigrant was fanned in the Indian by the trader and trapper, who argued that the settlers were to blame for the growing scarcity of buffaloes. From 1841 on the Sioux began to raid immigrant parties. In 1845 the first company of U.S. dragoons was sent to the Platte to quiet the tribes by a show of strength.

In these last years the Sioux had to go always farther afield in search of game. The immigrants invasion added to the vanishing of the buffalo, but the evidence points to the trading as responsible for most of the damage. A rapidly expanding market and quick profits made the traders push the Indians to excessive slaughtering without paying any attention to conservation. As early as 1832 it is reported that fifteen hundred buffalo were killed in one day by Indians near Fort Pierre, because a trader wanted a boat-load of salted tongues to ship to St. Louis. The tongues were taken and the rest of the meat and skins was left for the wolves. It is estimated that along the River Platte for eight or ten years prior to 1843 about 90,000 buffalo robes were brought to market annually, these being the top selection of the winter hides. In 1847, 110,000 cow skin robes were shipped to St. Louis. Compared with these numbers, it is estimated that the white trappers, traders, and immigrants combined killed a total of five thousand buffalo a year during the 1850's.

Already in 1832 there had been near famine among the Indians on the Missouri because of poor game. But even in 1850 a party of Oglalas was seen killing buffalo and taking only a few choice parts leaving the rest on the ground. This practice was not uncommon, in spite of the traditional accounts of the great care that the Indians took not to waste any particle of the game. These latter versions can be traced to the nostalgia of reservation Indians after the last herds had been destroyed by white hunters.

While the Indians became more and more discontented, the immigrants kept coming in ever larger numbers. In the summer of 1848 Brigham Young passed along the Platte with a party of 1,200 people in 397 wagons; he was followed by two other trains with 1,188 people in 325 wagons. In the early summer of 1849 the rush increased to a new peak. The gold rush added thousands to the regular flow along the Oregon Trail. These people brought with them Asiatic cholera which killed the Sioux like flies. The Indians believed that the whites had poisoned them in some magical way, but they were too sick or frightened to attempt reprisals. They sat on the trail begging for help or watching in fascination the endless trains of immigrants go by.

Cholera and smallpox, coming from the whites, further increased the resentment among the Indians to such a degree that the government bought the trading post at Laramie Fork from the American Fur Company and garrisoned it with troops. Several other companies were now trading in this district, although the trade with the Indians had already ceased to be their main source of revenue.

In 1851 the Indian Office called a council in the Upper Platte to sign a treaty with the Indian tribes by means of which Indians agreed to maintain specified boundaries among themselves and to remain peaceful towards the white in exchange for a yearly distribution of gifts while the treaty remained in force. The treaty further granted the American government the right to establish military posts in Sioux country. The Indians quickly repudiated this treaty on the grounds that they had not known the extent of their commitment, but these complaints seldom went beyond the Indian agents, who yearly spent the allotted gift money and reported that the Indians continue to respect the treaty.

Between 1852 and 1860 the presence of the troops at Fort Laramie brought to the Sioux the first full impact of a greater military power. Violence by the Indi at the Fort brought quick reprisal. The Indians were stunned by the sheer weight of the blow. Again they began to split up, and moved north and south, leaving behind only those who had become so used to life among whites that they did not wish to move, and all those families who had women married to white soldiers.

The Santees of Minnesota started a series of massacres among the whites in 1862, and then moved south to find refuge among the Sioux near the River Platte. These massacres created alarm which led to troops being sent west to protect the whites in 1863-64. The uneasy peace with the Sioux did not last long thereafter. Soon a series of raids and reprisals began which grew so complicated that the record became confused. Hostile parties raided and killed whites, who in return failed to distinguish between hostile and peaceful Sioux in their revenge. The war grew for the next fourteen years, during which two great war leaders emerged among the Sioux; Red Cloud and Sitting Bull led their people stubbornly through their slow retreat into captivity.

By treaty the Sioux were first reduced to agencies with comparatively extensive land bases; but the land hunger grew and Congress opened to settlement large tracts of land held by the Sioux under treaties, including the Black Hills. Discontent and violence started anew.

In a famous battle on June 25, 1876, several bands of Sioux and Cheyenne led by Sitting Bull defeated and killed Custer. They then considered the war to be over. The bands split off and, incredible as it seems, most of these Indians headed back to their agencies in the belief that the government would feed them that winter as usual, give them supplies, and allow them to go out again next summer to hunt and fight.

News of Custer's defeat, however, led the government to placing the agencies under military control. In the presence of troops the Sioux were presented with a new treaty whereby they would surrender the Black Hills and consent to choose a place where they were to live on reservations. The Oglala settled at Pine Ridge and the Brulé chose Rosebud. The Sioux made this last move in the summer of 1878.

It is important to remember that when the Oglalas and Brulés settled on their reservations for the first time, this was also the first time that they had been forced to live together, in groups larger than bands, for any length of time. We have already mentioned that the life cycle of these Sioux consisted of extensive wandering and hunting in semi-isolated small bands, and that they only very temporarily associated in large tribal groups. We shall discuss these annual encampments further in Chapter 8. For these temporary associations, they had developed special socio-political rules of organization, which operated only very temporarily. We will see later how unwilling the Sioux were to invest individuals with sustained power over the group. One of the most pressing problems they have had to face in the reservation was the sheer problem of living with each other; they had no techniques for dealing with the problem of a consistent authority in the group.

Two hundred years earlier the Sioux had been displaced by the impact of western technology and had started to move southwest. During the period of this migration they themselves had acquired enough of the new technology to displace other tribes and to establish themselves for a time as successful hunters and warriors who roamed the plains between the Missouri River and the Black Hills. This period of high achievement and happiness also coincided with the years when the American economic system drew the Sioux into itself while destroying the economic basis of their society. The Sioux social structure was not sufficiently resistant and flexible to survive the loss of economic independence; loss of social cohesiveness soon followed.

iv. Reservation life: Messianism and Wounded Knee

The facts of military and political conquest were further developments which magnified and intensified the problems of the Sioux, who had willingly accepted involvement with the outside system only to find that there was no way of stopping the changes that this involvement brought in its wake. With a growing history of broken promises and repudiated treaties, the condition of total economic and political dependence became so overcharged with feeling that both conqueror and vanquished found it difficult to be clear as to their respective purposes. The Indians settled down to protect what was left to them as the intangibles of a way of life, while the American government and other social and religious agencies decided that they should strive to transform the Indians as soon as possible into replicas of Americans.

Having complete economic control, government agents soon started to manipulate the Indian society by suppressing their religious practices, by breaking up the traditional camp life and forcing the family groups to disperse, by undermining existing authority, and by taking the children away to school to be trained as white men. For the next twelve years there was no open warfare, but every year was full of bitter clashes that ended in frustration for the helpless Sioux.

By 1890 there were already among the Sioux young adolescents who had known no life except that of the reservation with its sustained white influence. Planners and idealists considered that by now they should be seeing the first fruits of leading and forcing the Sioux away from their old ways. Just then, in the last months of 1889, the Sioux at Pine Ridge received news of an Indian Messiah who had come to liberate the Indians from slavery. They sent a delegation to the Shoshoni reservation in Wyoming to visit Wovoka, the prophet of the new religion.

This is a chapter of history duplicated almost everywhere where one people has conquered another by force. The members of almost every conquered group, at some stage in their despair at the destruction of what they consider moral and sacred, and their frustration at their helplessness in the face of overpowering force have taken refuge in a fantasy of a savior who would magically eliminate the conquerors and restore their way of life.

The party returned early the next year, bringing with them the new faith and ritual. Groups of dancers would engage in hypnotic dances which resulted in trance-like states during which the believers were said to be dead, from which death they were reborn after having visited the new promised paradise.

This new religion caught on among all the Indians of the Dakotas, attracting among others the hard core of rebels who still yearned for revenge and liberation. It is not clear how many of these rebels were actually dangerous to the peace because soon the government became alarmed and decided to jail the most vocal of the leaders. The strongest individual among these rebels was Sitting Bull, who had led the Sioux against Custer, and who had returned from exile in Canada to live in a reservation north of Pine Ridge. While resisting arrest, Sitting Bull was killed by the arresting force. The Ghost Dancers of several communities interpreted his death as the start of the wholesale repression and possibly massacre by the troops, and began to move in groups with vague plans of seeking refuge in the Black Hills. In the vicinity of Wounded Knee, eighteen miles from Pine Ridge, a large group of dancers was cornered by the cavalry, who started to disarm them. A shot was fired, nobody is sure by whom, and the troops opened fire point blank on the crowd, killing 128 warriors and many women and children as they tried to run away. No doubt the cavalry, not knowing how to interpret the Indian behavior, were themselves excited and fearful; they behaved as a mob might, rather than as a troop of disciplined soldiers. For many Indians the tragedy at Wounded Knee meant the end of the last hope to regain freedom. It is recalled today as a bitter example of the cruelty and injustice of the whites.

v. The reservation economy

From 1871 on, the government included cattle in the rations to Indians in

Pine Ridge and Rosebud, with the hope of inducing them to become ranchers. Slowly interest in livestock operations began to develop among the Sioux. There is no information concerning how many individuals started to make this adjustment, but official reports put the number of cattle in Pine Ridge at 10,000 in 1885. Rations were withheld from those individuals who were considered to be either on the way to becoming self-sufficient and who might be motivated by the lack of rations to take care of their herds. For many Indians this operated as a disincentive; entering upon cattle raising resulted in losing one's rations; yet the herds continued to grow.

Other programs and policies attempted to make the Sioux into farmers. The Allotment Act of 1887 had been devised to this end; the further purpose being to make them contented citizens. The Act provided for reservation land to be divided among the members of the tribe, each head of a family receiving 80 acres of farming land or 160 acres of grazing land. "The enjoyment and pride of the individual ownership of property," said Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, "is one of the most effective civilizing agencies." The Act was not applied everywhere immediately; in Pine Ridge and Rosebud the lands were not allotted until after 1900. The United States was to retain title to these lands, in trust for the individual, for twenty-five years, at the end of which he was to receive free title to the land if he was judged competent to handle his affairs.

The Sioux did not respond by becoming farmers, for they considered farming as far beneath the dignity of males. However, they took over cattle, horses, and the life of the American cowboy as integral parts of their lives. Within a relatively short time they had succeeded in building a good economic basis around ranching, so that by the beginning of World War I they were again almost self-supporting.

The demand for beef during the war years raised the price of cattle to record heights. In response the Sioux began to sell their herds. By 1916 there hardly was any cattle left. With the loss of the cattle came changes in governmental policy that allowed for the leasing of the land to non-Indians. Most of the lands were quickly taken over by white cattle operators and the Indians derived some benefits from lease money until the depression of 1921, when many operators were forced to abandon their leases, and most of this revenue stopped. Soon after came the opportunity to sell the land which became released from trust status. Even though at that time only persons of one-half or less Indian blood were considered to be competent, a considerable portion of the reservation lands were released from trust, and the agency encouraged their sale. In 1889, the Pine Ridge reservation had included 2,722,000 acres, and that at Rosebud 3,228,000 acres. In 1951, Pine Ridge had shrunk by one-third, and Rosebud by two-thirds, and much of this loss of land had occurred in the 1920's. By 1930, drought, the collapse of cattle and grain markets~~,~~ and the quick expenditure of the money received from land sales wiped out the economic basis of the reservations for a second time. The Indians lost their income from leases and their own farming operations, and most of them became completely destitute.

Between 1931 and 1942 direct relief, Red Cross aid, and employment provided by the Civilian Conservation Corps contributed a great deal to sustain some minimum subsistence and employment in Pine Ridge and Rosebud. The end of Civilian Conservation Corps operations in 1942 brought suddenly to many individuals the problem of making a living without artificial economic supports. The armed forces and the employment boom during World War II provided alternative economic opportunities and drew from the reservations large numbers of men and women, most of whom, however, eventually returned.

Observers in 1945 estimated that there was a good chance that the Sioux would rebuild their economy around the raising of cattle, but the hope has failed to materialize. A combination of circumstances have worked against it. Perhaps the memory of the Sioux of collapse of their high hopes a generation earlier, providing in their view one more evidence that the whites and the world are hostile and will not let them succeed, contributed to their general apathy and left them lessened energy to pursue ranching. In any case, the external difficulties were formidable and indeed insuperable without outside aid. Their land was so divided up through land sales and leases to non-Indians that it was difficult to assemble an area large enough for ranching. Cattle were no longer provided as rations, and there was no source from which the capital necessary for a ranching operation could be obtained. Few individuals fully skilled in cattle raising remained. And the pressure of poverty was such that the need to obtain immediate income, which leasing land to non-Indian operators made possible, outweighed all other considerations.

The policies of the New Deal produced the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, which among other purposes attempted to reverse the effects of the earlier Allotment Act by rebuilding the land base as essential to the economic well-being of these communities. Congress, however, has not pursued the economic intent of the Reorganization Act, and has not provided adequate funds for the proposed programs of land acquisition, the expansion of the Indian co-operative credit system, and the financing of technical advice and assistance.

Present economic conditions and recent governmental measures have been described in Chapter 2. As noted there, the measures have helped to improve various services and to ease some economic problems, but residents of the two reservations nevertheless live in poverty, which is only minimally ameliorated by wage earnings from seasonal labor as migratory workers during the summer months, social security programs, the provision of direct relief, and the distribution of surplus agricultural commodities.

vi. Conclusion: the nature of the process of change

The history of the Sioux is one of crises. But as long as we continue to emphasize the crises, the moments of change, as significant, we will be deceived by their apparent critical importance and equally apparent suddenness. Underlying them and preceding them are ongoing forces of change which become manifest only when they burst out into overt action. The process of overt expression often takes a long time, but the forces underlying it, not merely the event itself, are important.

Neither should we allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the pressing symptoms of social and personal deterioration we encounter at every turn in the present situation of these people, for those symptoms represent the living reality of the struggle for change, as well as the constant danger of breakdown that is involved in social change. The change or opportunity for change they may portend, not merely the depressing conditions themselves, should have our attention.

Since their first encounter with western technology, the Sioux people have been willing to borrow large elements of the new culture as long as they can proceed to incorporate the new and different as integral and consistent elements in the evolution of their society.

Previous accounts of the history of the Teton-Sioux have concluded that the impact of non-Indian culture on these primitive societies dates from the dramatic events after 1845, and have presented the period before this date as the flowering of the native society in all its idiosyncratic vigor. Quite to the contrary, we are forced to conclude that the two hundred years before this date represent a sustained period of change in which a process of acculturation took place through the successful incorporation of elements of western culture. The cultural encounter begins between 1500 and 1650 when the tribes of the northeast of the United States and Canada started to exchange goods, services, and practices with European traders.

In the case of the Teton-Sioux, geographical mobility tended to obscure the fact that cultural exchange and cultural transformation was taking place all of the time. Whereas in their mobility the Sioux transformed themselves at their own pace to fit the new technological and cultural situation that confronted them, the conditions that obtain after they became impotent participants in the new economic system have tended if anything to undermine the successful continuation of ongoing cultural transformation by preventing the independent experimentation and testing of new roles which had made possible in the past the incorporation of the new as a powerful instrument for carrying out older cultural goals. Meanwhile the attempt to impose new cultural goals has created agonizing stresses.

The literature on the cultural transformation of the Sioux under the impact of western culture has interpreted the problem almost solely in terms of a massive and sudden encounter between the two societies complicated by a prolonged subsequent period of domination and control. This approach obviously has validity. But it has failed to take account of what we here interpret as the long period of induced acculturation which preceded the open crises between the two societies. In the following chapter we will attempt to show how certain characteristics of Sioux society made it possible to achieve a high degree of internal organization and outward success, under historical conditions which allowed this society to experiment with change on its own terms.

We expect that in clarifying the internal dictates of Sioux society that allowed for change under particular conditions we will find important clues for the resistance to change when those external conditions no longer existed or could not be recreated. The interplay between inner demands of the culture and outer conditions of the society that set the limits of the tolerance for change at a given time have already received careful and extensive treatment in previous studies of the Sioux. We can only hope to add a shift in emphasis and a reinterpretation of the known facts from a different perspective.

FOOTNOTE

1. The main sources for this history are George E. Hyde's A Sioux Chronicle (1956) and Red Cloud's Folk (1937).

Chapter 8. Teton-Dakota Society and Culture

i. Change and continuity

From the history of the Oglala and Brulé Sioux, it is not possible to reconstruct an ideal ancestral stage of Teton-Sioux culture which could be said to represent an original stable state of the society. The Sioux culture that is commonly described in the literature is that of the Tetons as we find them after they had become successful buffalo hunters on horseback. At this point they were strongly armed with guns which made them the most respected warriors of the high grassy plains of the Dakotas west of the Missouri River. But, as the historical record shows, this high point of Sioux society covers only a relatively short period of their history.

An economy and society based on buffalo was not fully organized before the Tetons crossed the Missouri River in 1775, and became consolidated in all its formal aspects only after the Teton-Sioux were firmly established west of the Missouri around 1800. We have seen that the rapid decline of the Sioux society dates from their migration to the North Platte River in 1834, so that the climactic riding-hunting period lasted from thirty-five to sixty years at the very most.

During this period we see the Teton society and culture flourish as that of a people who were powerful, economically successful, effectively equipped for their way of living, aggressive, and nomadic; a tightly organized society which at the same time allowed great freedom from centralized authority and some latitude for personal initiative among its individual members. The individual hunter and warrior and the semi-autonomous small bands operated within a system of social and political control which was loose and diffused even within the individual bands. Authority in the organization of the bands in federations was transitory, and accepted by choice, but if accepted strong and highly centralized for the time being.

This climactic point of cultural development had been achieved in continuous interaction with western technology and trade. The move toward the southwest from central Minnesota had taken place under the constant influence of events that impinged on their society from the outside. European wars, trade conflicts, European weapons and goods had determined the pace and outcome of this migration, just as the essential character of Sioux society had contributed to it a cultural integration and an emotional impetus.

The dynamics of this ongoing process of acculturation are obscured by attempts at describing Sioux culture as more uniform and stable than it was in fact.

The Sioux adapt and change in their history under a variety of conditions. They do so while moving geographically. Spatial shifts are as important to their adjustment as are internal changes in the organization of the culture which created flexibility and allowed for extremes of behavior that ranged from rigid control of the individual to maximal freedom bordering on license.

Yet we have found a strong thread of continuity in Sioux culture, and especially in the culture of the Oglalas and Brulés. As in all details of early Sioux history, knowledge of tribal social organization has come to us largely through verbal tradition or in the few written accounts of explorers and travellers of the period. There are written Sioux historical records, the so-called "winter counts" (winter accounts). These are a calendric record in which the Sioux set down the main events of every year in a system of pictograms. However, the meaning of the pictograms has been largely lost, even to the Sioux. We can still reconstruct some of the basic elements of Sioux social organization, but we should keep in mind the precariousness of the reconstruction and the fact that there were important differences in time and between groups.

The Teton-Sioux belong to the western division of a large group of tribes speaking variations of the Siouan language. The whole language group seems to have common origins; at one time all met together in council. The western division of the Sioux had split off from the mother group before the beginning of our historical account, although they continued to share the basic elements of language and culture. In their migration from central Minnesota to the southwest the Teton-Dakotas evolved their particular brand of hunting and gathering society.

In his history of the Sioux, Hyde suggests that the most aggressive bands continued to split off from the larger group and to push independently to the southwest.[1] The technique of dividing and subdividing to follow the desires of individual groups left a train of related Sioux tribes of the western division from the Mississippi to the Black Hills. The Oglalas and Brulés, while having no interaction with other groups as close as that among themselves, would periodically associate with other related Sioux tribes from the north and east.

Tribes at both extremes of this line of migration continued to share important elements of their social and cultural organization. The letters of George Catlin,[2] which describe the Sioux west of the Missouri between 1832 and 1839, present these Sioux tribes as having the same over-all character that another independent observer found among the Sioux living in Fort Snelling between 1840-1847.[3] The similarities are striking in spite of the obvious differences in the degree of political and social autonomy in the two groups, in their basic economy, and in the forms of certain religious practices.

The Tetons to the southwest lived still in freedom and relative self-sufficiency while the kindred Sioux at Fort Snelling had already for many years lived in close contact and virtual control of the military. In their incipient condition of dependence and servitude the eastern group led a semi-pastoral existence and depended largely on the white group for basic staples, while the Tetons were at the high point of their hunting economy. In interaction with other tribes of the high plains the Tetons had developed elaborate forms of ritual self-mutilation which did not exist among the Sioux at Fort Snelling. The limited forms of self-mutilation of the latter had probably provided the basis from which the Tetons developed their particular ritual.

In other respects the character, attitudes, beliefs, values, traditions, in short, the emotional content of the society in these two Sioux groups, follow the main outline of the reconstruction of Sioux society that we present in the following sections, which relate specifically to the Tetons between the Missouri and the Black Hills. This cultural continuity parallels the cultural survival of Teton society through wars, conquest and reservation life, and together gives us a larger historical and geographical span evidencing the maintenance of the inner core of Sioux society throughout change.

ii. The social structure

Annually, unless war or catastrophe intervened, in late spring and summer, large groups of Sioux came together in encampments. During the remainder of the year, they moved about, or took winter residence, in small bands called tiyospaye. The tiyospaye was a closely knit group consisting of from ten to twenty families related by blood and marriage. The bands normally moved independently throughout the year, the men carrying on the hunting and if necessary fighting that were essential to their safety, and, within the division of labor of this existence, the women bearing the burdens, preparing the food, and performing the tasks of camp life. An individual did not marry within his own band. The married couple took residence within and became part of the band of the groom. (Marriage was exogamous; organization patrilineal and patrilocal.) The band as a whole was an extended family in which all social relations were derivatives of biological ties.

The biological father and mother were called by these names but the father's brothers and their fathers were also "father," while the female relatives of the mother were also "mother" to the individual. Within a given generation all males called their male relatives once or twice removed "brother" and the more distant ones "cousins." The same is true for the women for whom the other women of their own generation in the band were either "sister" or "cousin."

There are evidences that each kinship group had its individual religious allegiance to a local totem, and believed that the power of its local shaman or medicine man was associated with a particular type of animal, tree, stones, or a particular manifestation of nature, such as wind, lightning, rain, water, or fire.

There was no centralized authority within each group except in the respect commanded by older people, heads of family, shamen, successful warriors, or virtuous individuals. The social controls were essentially informal ones exercised by the group at large in the form of example, or through ridicule, shaming, and ostracism of individuals who failed to live up to the standards of the culture. While there was a hereditary chief, his power was in no way despotic. It was tempered by the voice of the older members of the tribe, by the prestige of the medicine men and the power of the warriors, that is, every man in the band except for those few who had chosen to live as berdaches (men who performed the duties of women, sometimes as male homosexual prostitutes). The Sioux was only faced with something approaching stern justice and despotic authority while he lived in the encampment, where chosen individuals and groups were invested with strong authority for the duration of the camp.

A federation of bands came together in each encampment. The word Dakota is one of the generic terms for federation in the Siouan language.

As a form of organization, the federation is at the opposite pole from the local band organization. This larger communal life was as over-organized as the rest of the lives of the Sioux lacked in central authority. The bands camped in a circle with one entrance. Opposite the entrance stood the band of the chief of most prestige with the bands of the other chiefs around the circle in descending prestige order on each side towards the entrance of the circle. All the male heads of family over forty years of age formed the Society of Chiefs, which selected the Seven Chiefs of the Tribe, who held office for life. The Seven Chiefs in turn selected the four councillors and the four executive officers. These executive officers represented the real authority of the camp; they selected the messengers, the heralds, and the camp police, and all of these were under their immediate orders. The hereditary band chiefs held no authority except on matters internal to the bands. The executive officers, police, heralds and messengers, were selected not from among the hereditary chiefs of the bands, but from the warrior societies or brotherhoods. The women had honorific societies rewarding fortitude, kindness, and chastity among their members and punishing the absence of these virtues by refusing membership to women who did not meet the requirements.

This powerful political organization was devised to control this temporary communal life, and to keep within bounds the energy that coming together stimulated among the tribal members at this time. The frictions that arose from continuous interaction contributed greatly to the aggression that had to be controlled and directed towards war and hunting. It seems as if the Sioux system carefully kept apart during the year the components of an explosive mixture, and brought it together only under carefully controlled conditions that directed the energies created.

iii. Values and beliefs

We have noted in Chapter 7 how the life of the Sioux depended on hunting and fighting, these in turn on unencumbered travel, hence minimum carrying of supplies, and all of these on the smooth living and working together of a group of people who relied on each other completely for economic and personal support and who had to be ready to fight for their lives and their subsistence.

This tightly bound cooperative social system depended on the maintenance of a number of attitudes among its members. Mutual respect, integrity, sharing, generosity, and mutual love controlled interpersonal dealings within the group. In its relations to the outside, to enemy or prey, the group demanded of its members absolutely guilt-free aggression and vindictiveness combined in the proper balance with courage and fortitude. We sketch in Chapter 10 how these cardinal virtues and values were inculcated in the individual. Thereafter they were enforced through informal but powerful controls exercised by the whole group: example, shaming, teasing, threatened ostracism. Personal participation in formal religious ritual, directly or vicariously, reinforced the highest values of the group. The system of child rearing contributed the earliest emotional foundations which the group later directed and elaborated to achieve in individuals a sense of integration into and belongingness in the social process and in the world as defined by ~~his~~ their culture.

The supernatural

The Sioux lived in a world of tremendous natural forces beyond their control; one in which the individual or the group might succeed, or might be struck down suddenly and overwhelmingly. Their way of making some sense of the world, of avoiding the perception that it was irrational and chaotic, was to believe that the whole world was permeated by the magic of a great, mysterious, and undifferentiated force which was the source of all human and natural power. This great supernatural force, termed Wakan Tanka, controlled all events and pervaded all areas of life.[4] Both the individual and the social group was believed to be dependent on this source for successful action. The supernatural was approached in humility and supplication to effect the transference of power, which, when granted, was so strong that it made the individual or the group one with the elemental forces of nature and just as powerful.

The potential elemental violence of the state of grace had to be controlled so that uninitiated individuals or the group as a whole would not suffer damage through contamination with power that was not granted directly to them.[5] The life cycle of the individual and the yearly cycle of the group was punctuated by crises in which power was needed and sought under strict observances of seclusion and exclusion to avoid dangerous contamination. In particularly important observances in which the power sought was extraordinarily strong the individual had to be prepared by cleansing and fasting that removed aspects of himself that would either make him unworthy of the power or that would make the acquired magic dangerous to him. The sweat-lodge cleansed the communicant by forcing his body to throw out those aspects of dangerous unworthiness which remained in him even after avoiding contamination through sexual abstinence and fasting.

Certain body processes in the female were endowed with specifically malignant potency when communicated to others, in particular men. The warriors lived in mortal dread of menstruating women whose menses were believed to be capable of flying through the air and to enter their bodies destroying their potency and courage. This dangerous power of the female body, which we find in other cultures as ritual uncleanness, extended to child-birth, when the expectant mother would withdraw to a special lodge where she could be attended only by close female relatives that had ceremonially protected themselves.[6]

Under specified conditions, supernatural power could be given by an individual to another. This happened in the ceremony of the transfer of character, in which a brave man of good character would communicate his character to a new-born boy by breathing into his mouth. A good woman could similarly impart her virtues to a new-born girl.[7] In all other situations the quest for power took place as an ordeal of isolated individuals or small groups in which seclusion, self-torture, silence, purification, fasting, nakedness, chanting, and praying emphasized the weakness, smallness, and humility which characterized the approach of the Sioux to the supernatural.

Although the force of Wakan Tanka was essentially undifferentiated and all-pervasive, the supernatural world of the Sioux included a group of partial manifestations of the all-inclusive mystery. These major manifestations were the Sun, the closest approximation in the pantheon to a chief or executive god; Buffalo, the comrade of the Sun; Sky, the manifestation of power and of the male principle; the Earth, the creative and female principle; and Rock, the spirit of action. There were endless other lesser spirits and manifestations: for the directions of the compass; for wind, rain, and lightning; for the evil forces in nature; for the Buffalo spirits and the winds. There were also semi-personifications of spirits, as the White Buffalo Maiden and the Little People of the Forest. Accounts of Sioux religion present contradictory assertions on the relative status of these manifestations or principles as either ephemeral or as actual systematized deities. In this respect the reconstruction suffers from its origins in verbal tradition, but the more respected sources interpret this religious diversification as a multi-faceted and endless variation of the basic theme of supernatural all-inclusiveness.[8]

Ceremony and ritual were endless, everyday occurrences in Sioux life. Two examples will suffice to show the integration of the supernatural into the fabric of the society: the solitary quest of the adolescent for a vision that guided his adult character and established his social role and status; and the sun dance through which the enlarged group of related bands sought divine blessing and strength.

At the time of puberty, before a young man could be initiated into adult society he had to leave the camp and retire to a lonely spot in the plain or in a secluded cavern in the hills, where he would mortify his flesh by fasting, and endanger his existence by exposing himself unarmed to danger, uncovered to the weather. Under these conditions, loneliness sharpened the superstitious fears which overcame the Teton when he went alone beyond the human support of the group. He begged and prayed that a protecting spirit would grant him a vision that, when interpreted by the shaman, would give him the strength and protection necessary to choose between the limited repertory of adult roles that were open to him. He might intensify the ordeal with self-inflicted tortures.

Usually on the fourth day he could expect to have a vision. It seldom deviated from a limited number of patterns. A manly and martial spirit might appear as a terrifying grizzly bear, and if its actions dominated the vision, the young man would expect to become a successful and predatory warrior. A gentle and graceful spirit of peace might manifest itself in the form of an antelope and lead the young man to violate the tradition of his family and become a peace-maker and conciliator for his group.[9] On the other hand the boy could see the thunderbird and be committed to behaving as a clown ("heyoka") and be the butt of ridicule until he was considered to be cured, or might remain forever heyoka and draw upon himself the contempt of the group; but in this role he "could prove himself so victoriously funny that he would end up as a leader among his people."[10]

The system made allowances for some forms of social deviation. An extreme deviant status was given to the boy who dreamed of the moon as offering him alternatively a bow and arrows as the attributes of the male and the burden strap of the woman, while trying to trick him into taking the woman's strap. If he succeeded in waking before the moon succeeded in trapping him, or if he captured the bow and arrow in the dream, he would avoid the penalty of the dream; otherwise he had no choice but to take the role of a woman.[11]

Girls could also have conflicted dreams in which they were offered the choice between female tools and male weapons; if the girl chose the latter she would have to give up the traditional female role of passivity and virtue and become the aggressive seeker of men in the role of prostitute.[12]

In this ritual of seeking a vision that would place the individual in a valid, justified role that is acceptable to him and to the group, the social system recognized and used the crisis which every person in any society faces, of choosing his role in the society, his individual identity, by enforcing a painful separation from the group and a humiliating quest for supernatural strength that could justify his reacceptance as a member. In so doing the society instituted a form of social death and social rebirth in which the drive for potential individual differentiation was magnified to the extreme loss of social and personal identity. Through this the individual refound the supernatural reason and conditions for uncompromising acceptance of the group's roles, with some provisions made for individual variation.

The all-inclusive supernatural power became the link between the isolated individual and his group, and in so doing reaffirmed the integral belongingness of the individual within the society, within the framework of universal power and order. The particular form of power granted to the individual in the quest was his contribution to the strength of the group, and the choice established in him a dual sense of autonomy and reciprocity in the act of rejoining the group.

The Sun Dance was a group ritual that took place once a year when the bands were organized in the federated encampment. The time of the year chosen was late spring or early summer when nature was in full vigor. The ceremony took place during several days (the actual number is unclear in the records) during which the people performed jointly in "a pageant of the essential values of Dakota culture."[13] This pageant included items that made it resemble a variety of group practices in other societies: fertility rites, phallic worship, Maypole dance, human sacrifice, annual convention, thanksgiving, graduation ceremonies, initiation rites, Mardi-Gras, Lent, Easter, sun worship, fourth-of-July picnic, Christmas, banquet, circumcision, war rally. The meanings of all of these functions in other societies have echoes in the Teton Sun Dance, the holiest cosmological ritual of that culture.

The rituals during successive days of the ceremony represented all of the principal elements of Teton social life and all of the relationships between the Tetons and the supernatural.

The societies of men performed their group rituals and elected new members; during the initiation ceremonies the men were allowed to recount their feats as a proof of their right to belong. There were several rituals recognizing and expressing gratitude for the abundance of food and game received during the year. The buffalo spirit was particularly praised for the benefits it had conferred. Feasting and exchanging gifts formed part of the earlier stages of the dance.

Fertility was worshipped by processions of adults in which the males sang the praises of the male Sky and the women glorified the female Earth. The next day was given to sexual license and teasing. The Sun Dance pole, which for the last four days became the instrument of torture, now performed as a Maypole decorated with figures of men and buffalo showing exaggerated genitals, presiding over a sexual orgy. At the end of this period the phallic figures were shot down and sexual controls re-established, and the camp entered into the period of purification that made it worthy of the coming sacrifice.

In the period preceding the erection of the pole there were mock battles, raids, captures, victory celebrations, and races that stimulated and commemorated the war spirit.

The cutting of the tree that was to serve as a pole was the occasion for the highest honor the group conferred upon a woman. The priests selected the most worthy among the virgins to find and cut down the tree. The women united in a feast that rewarded female virtues by limiting participation exclusively to faithful wives and chaste virgins. Any man could challenge the right of a woman to participate in the feast. A successful challenge (one testified to by the man under ritual conditions) resulted in the circle of women throwing out the eating utensils of the particular girl.[14] This was the most severe form of scorn and ostracism among the Tetons, for whom the sharing of food and the participation of the individual in communal eating had the quality of a sacrament, through which the group maintained its emotional integration and on which the individual depended for his all-important sense of belonging. Young girls were also rewarded by being chosen to assist the dancers by bathing their wounds. This participation in the dance guaranteed them the love of a young man.

Pregnant women and small children could contribute and share in the power of the ritual by gathering the twigs and small branches that decorated the Sun Dance pole. On a given evening all the people were enjoined to maintain cordial relations, and men were instructed "to treat their wives with full equality and respect."[15]

At this time a child might be honored by having his ears pierced by an outstanding warrior who sponsored him in the ceremony. Such children were considered to have undergone the equivalent of the torture of the dancers and were held in great respect.

The last four days were taken up by the dance itself, in which a few men underwent several degrees of torture. These were men who either had taken vows during the year, during a life crisis in which they had invoked supernatural help, or had pledged themselves to the sacrifice, seeking guidance and greater power. The highest and most powerful level was the fourth dance, in which the bravest men were suspended from the pole by thongs attached to the ends of skewers that had been inserted into the muscles of their arms, chests, and backs. The greatest honor went to those men who freed themselves by tearing through their flesh. The dancers fasted day and night during the dance. In the daytime they danced from dawn to sunset while they looked into the sun. Sweat baths and the appropriate rituals had been taken in advance to induce self-purification. These preparations were guided by the shaman who directed the dance. The four days of torture that climaxed the ritual were witnessed by all persons except those that were explicitly excluded as unworthy or dangerous to the ritual. This event represented the most dramatic public performance in the yearly cycle of the Sioux and took place before the largest possible congregation. This congregation of believers joined in communion with the ultimate source of all power and order.[16]

The Teton-Dakota Sun Dance can be conceived of as a "collective representation" in which the social group, through ceremony and ritual, expressed its transcendental beliefs and found means to establish external justification and internal emotional grounds for a sense of the integrity of the society: a sense of rightness and righteousness which guaranteed that the society would survive because it was as it should be and as it had to be.

In the performances preceding the acts of mutilation, the society paraded the main facts of its existence and tested its own capacity to be as it should be to deserve the sacred trust of power. All the principal elements of social life were represented and dramatized: daring, courage, and fortitude in warfare, the receipt of food and game, sharing, fertility in perpetuating the group, chastity and faithfulness, and so on. The enumeration represented an inventory of the assets granted; an estimate of the present amount of supernatural credit. Acknowledgments were made of having deserved and having received (from the natural world and from each other) tokens of power and strength. The natural and supernatural world were given praise and thanksgiving for the benefits they had provided. The group, in rewarding worthy individuals, congratulated itself on possessing the ways of life that were necessary conditions for the state of worthiness which in itself manifested supernatural providence. In ritual sexual license the group explored its resources of biological and emotional strength, praising them as gifts while it demonstrated its capacity to constrain them in orderly conduct as if to prove itself trustworthy of the gift of potency. In various other ways the ceremonies recounted and reinforced all the central virtues, beliefs and emotional responses characteristic of the culture. At one point of the proceedings the group was enjoined to become for a period a paragon of its own ideals: feuds and frictions were put aside so that this larger group which found it necessary to live throughout the year as independent bands, indulged in an orgy of togetherness; men even temporarily accepted their wives as equals.

Having displayed the whole cultural fabric and after demonstrating its power, the Sun Dance exposed the system to a critical test of its future; in the act of sacrifice the group challenged its own strength while defying the supernatural not to grant its power. The self-appointed victims were not the weaklings of the group; the strongest and bravest were the only ones that underwent the actual mutilation. The ritual provided four grades of ordeal, and both the participant individual and the shaman that directed the dance, exercised discretion as to intensity of sacrifice. The dancers of the fourth and highest grade were usually already powerful men, either warriors of distinction or priests who sought greater powers from the dance in potent visions which only the Sun could grant.[17]

At this moment the group expressed that residue of doubt that remains after all important human choices and commitments. In the ritual the society tested its choice and its doubt by testing via its strongest members whether it could trust the supernatural to entrust it with power.

The dancers represented the sacrificial bond between the source of grace and the worshippers. In turn the sacrificial victims and the congregation of believers felt a close communion in sharing the feelings and beliefs which the dancers experienced intensely and expressed dramatically. Propitiatory atonement was the necessary condition for establishing the union between the source of grace and the communicants.

Should the dancers show themselves unworthy, lacking the strength of courage and belief, causing them to fail the test, the whole group would have been exposed to overwhelming doubt. The existing record indicates that on all occasions most dancers succeeded in carrying out the ritual even though they would faint from pain and bleeding, having to be revived, or might even die within a few days after completing the ceremony.[18] Often individuals would in fact increase the torture by having heavy objects hung from the thongs or even have a horse pull the weights so that the skewers would tear the flesh and release the dancer.[19]

The tearing of the flesh marked the moment of achieving power and their release from their captivity to the pole. The Sun granted the power and the dancer provided the suffering.[20] The individual regained his freedom with augmented strength after surrendering himself to a painful attachment to the pole and to the sun; the escape required that he tear from himself and through himself the ties that bound him. But while free he was also more at one with the supernatural source, as if potent autonomy were predicated on prolonged attachment and painful separation (as had occurred at weaning: see Chapter 5). In the ritual the individual and the group reenacted a concern with the relationship between attachment and freedom which required an attack upon oneself to separate and reconcile these opposites.

The sacrifice was both climax and goal for all the items of ceremony, ritual, and lay performance that preceded it. In the preceding ceremonies the group asserted the rightness of its resources, industry, and ~~took~~ tools; its ecology, economy, and life style. In the climactic drama of self-torture and the regaining of power the group found justification and integration for the totality of its view of the world, values, and actions; commitments, freedoms, and controls; institutions, traditions, and practices; feelings, motives, and reactions; meanings, symbols, and representations; problems, conflicts, and solutions, which constituted the group's own particular selection from the total range of possible human experience.

The vision quest of adolescence also elaborated the preoccupation with the relationship between attachment and freedom; in total surrender the individual refound justification and strength to balance the inconsistencies inherent in the simultaneous achievement of potent autonomy and coercive belongingness. In both rituals the individual and the group tested the limits of their strength for reconciling these alternatives and looked on the boundless supernatural beyond themselves for the added powers that the solution required.

The natural world

The previous section proposed that the Teton-Dakota saw the supernatural world of power as pervading all living things and all natural phenomena. All events were manifestations of this power, and could be controlled or fended off adequately by the society through its ties with the supernatural. The endless reservoir of strength which was available to the group gave its members their sense of superiority over all other peoples and the confidence they brought to their pursuits.

The buffalo, the rivers, the trees and fruits of the forest, the biological facts of life, death, birth, and disease, were all controlled by the manifestations of Wakan Tanka, and were mastered by human beings as they could borrow its power. A protective spirit, for example, could make a warrior invulnerable in battle or allow him to ride in the wind invisible to enemy and prey. This definition of the world as controlled by the rationally unknowable limited but did not preclude the development of techniques for dealing with natural events. The magical power of the shaman to cure disease was carried out through an extensive traditional knowledge of medicinal plants and herbs. Children of medicine men were likely to become shamen through training and apprenticeship as well as through supernatural powers. The essentials of other occupations, war, hunting, the making of tools and weapons, the work of women, were transmitted through a system of informal education which endowed all members of the band with the technical essentials which he or she would later develop through natural endowment. But his natural endowment and achievements, if particularly successful, were believed by the individuals and by others to derive from magic sources.

The technology and industry of this society remained limited to an elaboration and extension of the functions of the human body. Teton technology was neolithic until the appearance of European artifacts. Through trade they acquired the products of the late Renaissance and of the industrial revolution in Europe. The acquisition of these products transformed their relationship to the natural world without having detectable consequence on supernatural beliefs. The new objects and techniques fitted into the Sioux world-view as manifestations of power which could be taken as tools of their own supernatural strength. Pots, blankets, horses, knives, arrowheads, kettles, processed tobacco, flour, guns, and powder became part of everyday life. They contributed to the life of the Teton society, and had already transformed it when we find it on the plains.

This transformation was very slow and superficial as long as the acquisition of these instruments and goods either continued to depend on the traditional way of life or supported that life and enhanced it. Powder, guns, and horses were to be had in exchange for the products of traditional methods of hunting, or as the prizes of victory in war with traditional enemies. These items of western technology in turn made war and the hunt more successful, accelerating the Tetons' capacity for acquiring them. This process contributed to the growth and success of the Sioux way of life as an enterprise.

While the material success lasted, it actually contributed to enhance the Tetons' sense of trust in the special protection of supernatural forces, so that their sense of self-righteousness and confidence grew at a rapid pace. Never were the Sioux more the favored children of Wakan Tanka than when the imported technology made them so powerful. This sense of potency and protection radiated to all areas of the society, including their view of the natural world, in which they could now expect even more plentiful resources. This expectation, so deeply rooted emotionally, obscured the fact that they were rapidly spending the capital that furnished their increased strength; they were exploiting the buffalo to the verge of extinction. The virtual disappearance of the herds seemed to them even more sudden than it was, since it occurred at the peak of their expectations. The fact that the arrival of settlers at this time accelerated the end of the buffalo herds gave them an object to blame which helped them to maintain a reserve of confidence that supernatural protection was not irretrievably lost, but rather that they merely faced one more in the long line of human enemies with whom they had to deal in their history.

The feeling of tremendous power that preceded the crisis gave added intensity to the Tetons' view that their only hope of salvation lay in regaining favor in the eyes of the power that controlled the whole world. They reunited to wage war, and when this finally failed just when they had been granted their greatest victory (over Custer), just when they had refound their power, they withdrew into a quest to regain supernatural favor through which they could keep their way of life. They had never developed means for extensive transformation of the natural world. By clinging to their old culture they held onto the only means they could conceive of to induce change in the environment.

The social world

The small band in which the Teton-Dakota individual lived the greater part of the year constituted a familiar, cohesive, permissive system. The values and beliefs of the Tetons furthered and reflected close social cooperation within this system, and in contrast intense, ruthless, guiltless aggression against the world outside the larger Sioux society.

The aggression took the form of relentless and unmerciful attack on all humans who threatened the tribe or its territory. Aggression was combined with cunning, prudence, courage, and fortitude. It was combined too with meekness and submissiveness to outside powers on occasion, which seems to be a denial and abdication of the heroic virtues of attack. The combination can be understood best after the discussion of personality formation in Chapter 9, where it will be discussed at some length.

The close cooperation required within the band was inconsistent with the accumulation of personal property. All property within the band was communal.

The paramount duty of the members of the group was to provide assistance and help for each other. The concept of individual possession of property as we know it was unknown and indeed inconceivable to them; that an individual should accumulate possessions was repugnant, immoral, indecent. (It would indeed have been a threat to the band.) Property was shared in terms of individual need. There was no way to express the possessive in Siouan language. The closest equivalent was a verbal form that showed a preference for a certain object; in items of food even this approximation to possession could only be achieved through a circumlocution such as "the meat that is in the tepee that I prefer."[21] A failure to comply with the social requirement to give and share would brand the individual as "not a true Dakota."[22] Generosity was strictly enforced by the pressure of ridicule and ostracism.

In the band, since the people lived in close proximity and constant interchange, conflict had to be constantly avoided. The lines of kinship defined the required amount of respect or tenderness between two given individuals. Always the individual was duty-bound to observe the right behavior, for the society surrounded all social interaction within the group with an aura of ritual and sacred duty. The right relationship among the members contributed to the virtue, worthiness, and power of the whole group as much as any other potent ceremonial.

Affection and love for relatives ameliorated tensions among them; tensions were also discharged or handled by a system of avoidances that prevented intimacy that might become charged with too powerful feelings of either tenderness or hostility.

Extreme closeness existed between those who were brothers or sisters in the Sioux sense, while avoidances were imposed between cross-sex in-laws. Within the biological family the strongest tie was between brothers, and the greatest avoidance and respect between brother and sister. The maximum avoidance and respect between related individuals was between brother and sister, between son-in-law and mother-in-law and between daughter-in-law and father-in-law. These individuals could not even address each other or be together in the same tepee. Great respect and avoidance were also observed between cross-sex grandchildren of grandparents related by marriage. Formalized joking and teasing was permitted between brother and sister-in-law. Children learned early the behavior appropriate to the type of family relation, and it was enforced throughout life by the constant watchfulness of other members of the group. Forms of aggressive behavior were sanctioned and expected between certain individuals; bantering, teasing and joking was allowed between brothers-in-law; sexual jokes were permitted between brothers- and sisters-in-law. In this way the system handled potential conflict between brothers-in-law, for example, one of whom had to show respect and avoidance for his sister while her husband shared with her the greatest personal intimacy.[23] These avoidances too were an essential part of the system of sexual roles as Chapter 9 will indicate.

As a last resort, if frictions within a band grew too intense, the band split. The need for unreserved cooperation within the band permitted no other solution; if friction rose to a point that threatened close continuous intermeshing of individual activity, the two groups at odds permanently severed and went their separate ways.

But the Sioux lived a part of every year in a large confederation of bands which although related by kinship ties and common history represented a much larger and complicated interactive system, in which the individual was exposed to stresses that the social system of the small band could not handle. Old feuds and grievances between bands were newly confronted. The hierarchical organization of the bands in the federation brought novel differences in status. Jealousy and competition came into the open for now the sense of being oneself as a right of birth in the kinship structure was challenged by new forms of acquired status. The relative position of the bands in the encampment; the display of trophies and scalps on the poles of the tepees; and the differential capacity of individuals and of bands to give presents were but some of the manifestations of the struggle for power and status. Even the inter-band societies of elders, of warriors, and of women brought to individuals the new experience of acceptance or rejection as the gift of a larger and relatively alien group which imposed upon him or her strictures, laws, commands and observances from which he was free most of the year. The political structure of the federation represented the most dramatic departure from life in the band; it imposed a strong form of centralized and coercive authority with considerable powers at its disposal. We had, then, in this larger group experience, the stimulation of powerful feelings and desires coupled with an equally strong centralized authority that blocked the discharge of these feelings and directed them to the outside, to war and hunt; and to the inside in ritual self-torture and in the participation of controlling others and competing with others.

FOOTNOTES

1. G.E. Hyde, Red Cloud's Folk.
2. George Catlin, North American Indians.
3. M.H. Eastman, Dahcotah.
4. Laura Thompson, "Attitudes and Acculturation," American Anthropologist, pp. 200-202; Personality and Government, p. 79.
5. Ruth Underhill, "Religion Among American Indians," Annals, p. 128.

6. Malan and Jesser, "The Dakota Indian Religion," p. 14.

7. James O. Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," p. 482.

8. J.R. Walker, The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota.

9. Francis Parkman, The Oregon Trail, pp. 127-128.

10. C. Wissler, "Societies and Ceremonial Association in the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," quoted by Erikson in Childhood and Society, pp. 134-135.

11. T.S. Lincoln, The Dream in Primitive Cultures, referred to in Erikson, op. cit., p. 136.

12. Erikson, op. cit., p. 136.

13. MacGregor, Warriors Without Weapons, p. 88.

14. Ibid., p. 89.

15. Ibid.

16. "This ordeal was described by General Curtis, Commander at Fort Sully in the 1880's in these words:

> 'On yesterday, June 1st, the dancing was delayed at intervals to allow tortures to be inflicted. Two or three men stood over the devotee with needle and knife, very quietly performing penance, according to the customs of all these sacerdotal rites, as follows: First, they cut the arms in several places by sticking an awl in the skin, raising it and cutting out about half an inch; this is done on both arms, and sometimes on the breast and back. Then wooden setons (sticks about the thickness of a common lead pencil) are inserted through a hole in the skin and flesh. Then cords or ropes are attached to these sticks by one end, and to the pole at the other end, the victim pulling on the ropes till the seton sticks tear out the flesh and skin. I saw one with two setons thus attached to his breast, pulling till it seemed to draw the skin out three inches, and finally requiring nearly his whole might to tear out the seton.
>
> 'One, painted black, had four ropes attached at once. The pulling out is done in the dance, the pulling carried on in the time of the music by jerk, jerk, jerk, and the eye, head and front all facing the sun in the form of supplication. One had four setons attached to four dry buffalo head bones. These were all strung and suspended to his flesh by ropes that raised each head some three feet off the ground. He danced hard to tear them out, but they would not break the skin. One came off the weights (each at least twenty-five pounds weight), not tearing out by their own weight or motion, the devotee gave a comrade a horse to take hold of the rope and tear out the setons. While these were being thus tortured, their female relations came in and had pieces cut out of their men. Still as soon as the victim could be prepared, the music was renewed, and the dismal dance went on, victims' bodies now mingled with blood, paint and setons.'"

Quoted by Malan and Jesser in "The Dakota Indian Religion," pp. 19-20.

17. MacGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

18. Warren Cardwell, *An Introduction to the Modern Oglala Sioux*, pp. 7-8.

19. Gideon H. Pond, "Dakota Superstititions," pp. 237-238.

20. Paul Radin, *The Story of the American Indian*, p. 179.

21. Malan and Jesser, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

23. MacGregor, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

Chapter 9. The Teton Individual Within His Society

i. Introduction

The nature of the external world and the history of a human group condition the choice by the group of the organized system of life which constitutes a society. The culture of the society shapes the development of personality in the individual; it sets limits which determine the kind of person he can become. Throughout his life, the individual's personality shapes itself; he uses the society and culture, so to speak, to transform himself into a person. The result of the mutual sustained interaction between him and his society sometimes is to perpetuate the society and culture, generation after generation, sometimes to challenge integration achieved in the past and to produce continuing change in society, culture, and personalities. Because the individual participant in society is also an observer, evaluating events, each transaction between him and the social environment in which he lives has a meaning to him. Meanings can be shared; individuals may come to see or be brought to see the same meaning in the relationship between themselves and life; shared meanings integrate a society.

These things, so elliptically stated here,[1] were true of the Sioux society as of every society. Through their own culture the Sioux effected their own version of the mutuality between individual and group; it can be traced in the life-cycle of the individual members of the society.

ii. The meaning of infancy and childhood

The interpretation below of the perceptions and reactions within the individual as he developed are of course hypothetical; we have no direct access to his inner life. Their justification rests upon the fact that they are consistent; they explain the meaning and relationship to each other of attitudies and acts which taken in isolation have no apparent meaning or function.

A pregnant Sioux woman was allowed to step out from her usual shyness and humility by abusing her husband and even occasionally striking her children.[2] The group recognized the woman's burden in carrying out a function that was vital enough to warrant departing from a prescribed role. The act of childbirth was surrounded with dangerous influences which had to be kept from contaminating the group. The woman in labor was isolated and only women that had ritually protected themselves could come in contact with her. The courage and fortitude of the parturient woman was a proverbial virtue.

The newborn baby was shielded from any difficulty whatever in nursing. He was not given the breast until after the first watery secretion was sucked out by women who had been given this role through dreams.[3] While the breast was being stimulated to provide a strong and steady supply of milk, the baby was fed on the juice of berries and herbs fed to him in a buffalo bladder.

After he had started to nurse at the breast, he was fed whenever he cried. Nothing was allowed to interfere with nursing. Breast feeding could last from three to five years, during which period the father had to surrender his sexual claims on the nursing mother. We can only conjecture about the feelings that this denial aroused in Sioux men who usually looked on their wives as possessions to be disposed of at will. No matter how sacred was the function of mothering, a residue of angry jealousy must have been felt by the husbands. There were no known institutional provisions to handle whatever feelings were aroused in the father, other than occasional polygamy. We also do not know what mixture of justification, revenge, and possible angry assertion was involved in the mother's reaction to her own and to her husband's enforced sexual abstinence. In any event, the child received the mother's unending and undivided attention. Strapped in a cradle board, the baby was always in close proximity to the mother, either attached to her back or lying close by. Mother and child thus remained constantly within reach of each other.

When the child had learned to crawl and walk, he would be fed by the nearest nursing woman. He was fondled and caressed and allowed to play freely with the breast. His tactual and oral gratification was made as complete as possible. All the members of the group cooperated in protecting and giving support to him. The sound of his small voice had the power to bring to him immediate satisfaction. The whimper, the cry for help in need or in anger which children possess as their main instrument for mobilizing the social environment on which they are completely dependent, was endowed in Sioux children with a potency that gave their wishes and their needs an aura of omnipotence. Since there seldom was any prolonged gap between the first expression of need and the presence of support, from the viewpoint of the child the need itself brought satisfaction in this infantile paradise. The gap between the overt actions of the child and the obtaining of satisfaction was minimized to the point of virtual disappearance. He did not give out an onrush of air and sound as one act, and receive nourishment as a separate one, in a sort of bargain; rather, needing and getting were brought in close contact without intervening events--a proximity which amounted almost to a fusion. His first experience of the world was one of bountiful sources of gratification, always available, immediately tapped by the existence of need, and requiring no contribution from him.

This experience was prolonged until the child gave it up of his own accord. The mother's sexual abstinence insured that neither paternal claim nor subsequent pregnancies should interfere with his getting what he wished until he was ready to wean himself. This protracted exposure to a paradise of receiving could be expected to induce in the child a boundless sense of confidence in the endless availability of satisfaction beyond himself; in a great reservoir whose contents were piped directly to the inner source of his need.

As the infant grew his nervous system matured; his muscles increased in strength and coordination; his teeth began to push out through his gums; his stronger body now sought to grasp and take what he wanted. Since his previous experience had never included the possibility of postponement, his new strength visualized no barriers. If he was bound in the cradle board, his action was localized in his mouth and teeth. In nursing, he bit his mother's breast vigorously, to grasp it and take in greedily, as he had always done before, a mouthful of outer goodness. At this point his mother, expecting the bite at this stage in his development, and of course also experiencing pain, would withdraw her breast and "thump" his head sharply. He was expected to cry out in fury, and his mother, hearing his cry, would laugh, rejoicing in his anger; for his future strength and courage were believed to be proportional to the intensity of this rage.

This exchange of attacks between mother and child was conditioned by another important happening in the biological development of the child: maturation of his nervous system and increase in his muscular strength and coordination had resulted in sharpening and perfecting his receptors (hearing, seeing, touch, taste, smell, as well as his inner perceptions,) and in focussing and localizing his motor responses. The relative undifferentiation in his perception between the parts of himself and between himself and the outside had begun to break down; he had begun to perceive differences. The mother had started to become a separate event. This separation challenged his belief in the correspondence between wish and fulfillment. The mother and her breast could now be perceived as being away when not needed, and coming to him when called.

His budding sense of differentiation between objects at this stage in his development was ahead of his capacity for integrative perception, so that in his perception the different parts of his mother were only loosely organized into a whole. He probably perceived the nipple of his mother's breast in isolation, rather than as an integral part of her.

His growing sense of separation probably energized his wanting to take into himself the nurturant part of his mother. He wanted to seize it in his teeth--bite it--and perhaps swallow it. Just as he attempted to incorporate the source of goodness he received a blow which in part may have made him feel as if the power of his wish had succeeded in its intent; he had swallowed all outer goodness and was now painfully invaded by it. He had succeeded too well; the goodness (breast) he had wanted to take in was now driven through him. Goodness was transformed into pain. His discharge of this fullness of pain was limited by his bindings, so that his whole body reverberated in massive anger--as Sioux accounts testify--like a tightly coiled spring. His sense of powerful goodness was transformed into tremendous fury. For the first time, unexpectedly and startlingly, he experienced pain, massive, diffuse, and intense, and the rage toward the world outside him that he felt in response was equally intense and destructive in its purpose. At the same time he felt massive rage at himself, for had he not created this pain himself by his too eager and unrestrained seizing of goodness? In a chaotic way this experience remerged the inner source of need and the outer source of satisfaction.

By the transformation of expected goodness into pain the child was in essence cut off from the source of satisfaction. He was dramatically interrupted in carrying out the vital act of replenishment. His sense of painful fullness excluded all sense of inner goodness; momentarily he was both full of badness and empty of anything good. His mother offered him her breast again; if he bit, she rapped his head sharply again. Only after he had succeeded in controlling his rage and "badness" could he again approach the source of satisfaction to gratify his increased need; and then only with a newly found sense of caution. The intensity of his need emphasized the degree of self-control he had to bring about.

The quality of the social interaction in feeding contributed to the emotional foundations of the character which Sioux individuals eventually developed. They were in no sense sufficient causes of the ultimate outcome of their personality organization, but rather precursors that provided an emotional basis which later experiences elaborated and integrated. The flexibility of this psychological platform was limited by several factors discussed below, so that future development could only take place within the confines of these early facts.

Up to this point the child had developed a strong confidence in the existence of a plentiful supply of gratifications for his needs. He had received bountifully. As a result, both because he felt no sense of needing to hoard or accumulate, and because he wished to give in return for what he had received, later in life he could be expected to give generously.

His wishes and desires had been surrounded by an aura of potency bordering on omnipotence which enhanced his future sense of confidence, but led him also to believe in the potency of intensified need to satisfy itself, and in magical solutions; as if his inner reality were the only true one.

The connecting link between himself and the source of satisfaction had been established as diffuse and unstructured, so that he was not clear as to what independent contribution he could bring to the act of getting what he needed. Later in life he was to behave as if the actions through which he sought satisfaction were more manifestations of a supernatural source of power than of his individual talents, initiative, and purpose.

The retaliation against him, when he bit, marked the first major discontinuity with the past. In that retaliation the child experienced the possibility that goodness might be malignant. Later on, he felt the need to control the manifestation of power in any individual, so that its malign attributes should not contaminate others in the group. Here he also learned the need for self-control that made it possible to develop in adults the ability to withhold those actions and feelings toward the group that threatened the established order. At the same time there was created in him intense and destructive rage toward the outside. Later this rage energized his cruel, cunning attack on enemy and prey. Future bravery and fortitude had elements of the early confidence in being restored, but also included the capacity to take destructive retribution or endure justified punishment which had been enforced and tested in the teething rage. The first experience of outer control and the need for self-control also colored the final establishment of both imposed and autonomous regularity. Outer controls were first experienced as sudden, massive, and undifferentiated, and having an all-or-none quality that left little room for compromise. As adults the Tetons would find it difficult to establish gradations between extremes of self-control and uninhibited release of self. Within the group, extreme self-control was demanded. Against the outside, total sadistic attack was approved. The social organization of the group was geared to maintain a diffuse system of social controls that insured a measure of stability in the behavior of its members, but once the energies of the individual were released their violence was such that there was no place within the system that could tolerate it. When rivalries within the group grew to a critical point, the only solution was the splitting of the band. The ferocity and enthusiasm induced in the preparations for fighting and hunting required an authoritarian organization of the annual encampment to provide some semblance of control. Even this was only partially successful, since individual warriors or hunters could seldom be kept from pushing ahead on their own.

Within the group the Sioux were impatient with individualized and concentrated authority. The power of leaders was minimal, secondary to the diffused authority vested in the group as a whole. Sharing, communal distribution of goods were in themselves essential virtues of the society, but they also assured a leveling of differences in power over others. The Sioux were democratic with a vengeance, having once known that power knew no bounds.

The drastic interruption of the act of getting what is needed which took place when the nursing child was hit by the mother, left a residue of feelings which was the basis of a later conviction that the connection between oneself and the protective source had to be reestablished by starting the act of getting at the point at which it had been interrupted. When seeking power and blessing from the supernatural the Sioux acted out this belief by reenacting parallels of the early experience. They submitted themselves empty and helpless, then inflicted on themselves tortures that reproduced the pain of the original act. Both the vision quest in adolescence and the Sun Dance sought to achieve reunion with power by reenacting this moment of their individual histories.

Early experiences of the individual have relevance to his future life and that of his society in part because the culture builds on them, sometimes elaborating their content through the fabric of institutions and sometimes providing meaningful contrasts with future events. In this way they survive into the future history of individuals by being the right things, or by being what was right and appropriate earlier but had to be replaced by what is better for this other moment in life. Some things that were good at one time come to constitute a dangerous area to be avoided while new procedures are successful, but at moments when procedures or relationships break down or are not effective, the good things in the past reemerge as the means for rebuilding control. The Sioux warrior when confronting an enemy was brave, courageous, haughty, jealous of his maleness, and master of his fate; but when he was faced with the problem of re-approaching the greatest power, he bound himself in painful captivity and begged the supernatural power to restore him by tearing through his flesh, reproducing his distorted memory of what had been--of the time when he had wanted and got a great deal, after great pain.

In this case, the society had maintained alive the early experience, to be used at critical times and in specific areas, while it was avoided as an integral part of behavior at other times. The ritual also created a symbol that was shared by all the members of the group; it instituted a shared meaning that was not included in the original experience. In bringing about consensus, the ritual did elaborate and distort the infantile experience, but did not change its essential content.[4]

Going back to the original attack we can see that the event had radically different meanings for the mother and the child. The mother laughed and rejoiced; her action had been successful in producing a portent of the child's future excellence. She felt gratified in having carried out to its goal her Sioux role of woman and mother. In this achievement she found rewarding meaning for important actions, feelings, and denials that she had had to experience as necessary preconditions to her belonging in the society. The child's present anger and his future accomplishments gave her satisfactions in return for whatever she had given in the past. At this point she completed an important act, so that the separation of herself from the child was a meaningful accomplishment.

For the child, however, the meaning was entirely in the present. He felt only pain and anger as an all-encompassing now-and-always. The separation from the mother cut him off from what he needed most at the moment;

it isolated him without providing a clear path of return. The chaotic discharge of rage and energy and the massive self-control he had to manage before he reestablished the bond with his source of nurturance had no meaningful ties with other events that could give him the satisfying sense of mutuality such as that the mother experienced within her frame of reference. The sudden restructuring of his world had for him a most private and disjunctive meaning.

In a profound sense, mother and child now parted forever in this breakdown of communication. They now carried in themselves different meanings that could never be totally shared. Only in future derivative ways would the two members of this exchange be able to share some elements of the significance of this act. As an adult, the child eventually found satisfaction in sharing with others the meaning of pain, separation, and return, in the vision quest and the Sun Dance, and in the rage and destruction in war and in the hunt, thereby revindicating in some measure the rightness of his fear and pain. When later events in Sioux history made it impossible to vindicate the early massive pain and rage in this way, life became meaningless and chaotic. By using derivatives of this experience, the life of the group would make it possible to reinstitute partial bonds between individuals whose private meanings alienated them from the reality in which others existed. But this content of private meanings could never be totally reconciled. The sense of isolation within personal realities persisted as a gulf of meaninglessness, an interpersonal gap that limited the constant search for meaningful shared experiences, for the common perspectives through which human beings must achieve a dual sense of private wholeness and satisfying belongingness. The psychological experience of this goal can be expressed as the attainment of conditions in which other people perceive us as we perceive ourselves.[5] The intractable elements of separation between the private world of individuals find expression in religion.

The powerful remnants of interpersonal meaninglessness come to constitute the realm of all those things that cannot be known; the final causes that forever remain in darkness; the rationally unknowable, to use another unwieldy expression. As is true of similar practices in other groups, the Sioux rituals that had as their expressed purpose the establishing of a communion between the whole group and the supernatural, created a bridge to the unknowable which in fact ended the separation that existed between the private worlds of the members of the group. When a group of individuals succeed in cooperating in actions that integrate their most private meanings, the result is a powerful source of energies that can be applied to group action. When these meanings fail to come together, individuals remain alien to the ultimate defintions of reality within each other--a condition that will systematically drive them into further alienation.

When the history of the group results in changes that allow or require the survival of practices in which these pervasive contents of private meanings are created, while it destroys the means for subsequently recreating emotional consensus, the society releases within itself powerful instruments of self-destruction. The threat of internal destructive forces in turn mobilizes attempts to hold on to or to recreate those things in the system that made internal balance possible. In this attempt the group may in fact insure the permanence of the very conditions that it can no longer control. This is the case in the changes undergone by Sioux society. Short of immediate annihilation of all the members of a society, the nature of social change depends on the surviving meanings that individuals carry as the very conditions of their existence as much as on the nature and timing of external influences. The integration of the society is not necessary for the survival of these meanings so long as certain forms of social interaction remain. The fact that some of the most crucial interactions take place very early in life, in the most intimate and private acts, makes them even less accessible to external influence and to reformulation.

The next stage in the life cycle of the Sioux individual brought with it its own burden of continuity and discontinuity with the past; of cooperation and conflict between the biological maturation of the individual and the social maturation of the person, and systematic emphasis and rejection of emotional possibilities.

Like children in all societies, the Sioux child eventually had to learn that living with other people required him to time his physiological and emotional processes so that they coincided with the social schedule that gave order to the society. He had to become aware of the right time and right place to do certain things; of what to give, what to hold back and from whom. He had to become aware that the quality of his interaction with other persons depended on the time, place, and social context in which this contact took place; that his transactions with the world outside himself had rules beyond the dictate of his wishes.

During nursing he had learned that the satisfaction he received was ruled by happenings within himself, even when he had experienced internal pain from having wanted too much. The things he put out to get or to grasp what he needed had been minimized. His cry for help was hardly necessary; his active muscular discharge in the act of getting had been curtailed by the threat of getting too much, and by binding the discharge of his anger so that it could find outlet, concentrated and localized, only through his angry cry. The discharge of his anger had been rewarded by the release the cry of rage gave him.

In this fashion the child expelled from himself a content of harmful feelings in the way that his organism was endowed at birth to throw out those material things that were experienced as harmful.

During this period he also produced and automatically released urine and feces. This is another area of release of organic waste that may be surrounded by strong feelings and meanings. This release can arouse reactions in other people that have a strong impact on the growing child, as he strives to integrate the happenings within himself with social reality. This can be a troublesome area, because the child has only very limited capacity to control the release that can be so meaningful to others. The newborn is endowed with automatic reflexes that respond to tension on the walls of the bowel and bladder and release their content. There are no inborn mechanisms that make it possible to hold back this reflex action. The growing capacity for voluntary control that is achieved as maturation of nerves and muscles proceeds can be utilized by a society to interweave the demands of the social schedule with the development of self-control.

In the training of the Sioux child these functions were allowed to remain free of outside interference. When he gave these things out, he did not get back from the persons around him reactions of repugnance or rejection; the products of his body were accepted in the Sioux society as matters of fact, neither dirty nor bad. His giving out was not part of a reciprocal process, these processes operated independently of the act of getting. This whole area of release remained free from outside controls, but could not fail to be influenced by his periodic need to discharge anger. As his neuro-muscular system developed, to the existing autonomy of this mode of discharge was added the energy of angry release. Since breast feeding was so prolonged, there was a considerable time overlap when the experiences of receiving passive gratification coexisted with the progressive growth in maturation that gave muscular force to the act of expelling unwanted materials. During this period the teething rages gave further momentum to elimination. This impetus to expelling at will had to be dealt with when the time came to enforce self-control of this function.

Although the nerves that make possible voluntary control of elimination function to some extent at an earlier age, they reach complete physiological maturity only after two to five years of post-natal life. The development of voluntary control, of self-control, provides a link that cultures utilize to merge outer controls with self-regulation. The Sioux child was permitted to wait until his body was fully capable of self-regulation before he was taught the social meaning of its processes. When the child was old enough to follow and imitate others, he was taken in hand by older children, who led him to the appropriate places and asked him to imitate them in defecating and urinating.
At first the request for imitation was benign and permissive, but as the child grew older he was teased and taunted by others if he was not successful in being as good as they were in doing these things in the right place and in the right way. Parents and other adults were excluded from this interaction. Only the example and ridicule of other children

was used to induce compliance.

Here among his biological peers he experienced the coercive impact of shame. The strength of his self-control was measured against that achieved by others who were enough like him so that he had more reason to expect himself to be their equal. This practice could be interpreted as permissive in its avoidance of evaluating oneself against the norms of those who are far beyond one in stature and strength, but on the other hand it prevented the possibility of justifying one's failures as being brought about by that obvious inequality. In the confrontation with his peers, the Sioux child was faced with an intense necessity to be as good as others. These requirements to withhold and then to give out in a way of which he could be proud, were complicated by the angry demand for autonomous release that he had experienced in the rages of the past, and that he now continued to experience in being fed, attitudes that now were converted into a demand that others should not be better than himself.

As he had to expose himself to the danger of showing others his shameful weakness, he tried to become as quickly as possible strong enough to control himself. He had access to a previous experience of extreme self-control which was now necessary to keep in hand all the energies which he was expected to control, including the new impotent anger and shame stimulated by other children. Under the mutual system of inner and outer controls were bound destructive energies which he could only eventually discharge by attacking enemies and game. Within the group these energies were given an outlet as he came to coerce and control other children in this training. At this point in life were instituted the emotional elements which later found expression in the Sioux's autocratic demand for democratic equality, as well as for coercive social control exerted by everyone within the group rather than by a single authority, through gossip, calumny, teasing, and shaming.

Through this early experience the Sioux established a sense of being forever open to those who had known his secret shame. The situation was mutual, so that it achieved a universal levelling from which the individual could depart only under the protection of supernatural gifts.

The social system in this way brought control and regulation over powerful feelings at the expense of creating a far-reaching sense of doubt in the value and acceptability of autonomous achievement. To step out assertively before the group exposed the individual to the danger of being destroyed or levelled by ridicule unless he could claim special powers, which were not his in a specific and possessive sense, but were lent or entrusted to him by the supernatural. He imposed on others the same levelling demand under which he lived, to make sure that no individual within the group could achieve a social status or role that put him beyond the reach of the group's control through ridicule and ostracism, i.e., that any person could possibly be able to shame others more than they could attack him in the same way. In the circularity characteristic of social institutions, the economic practices of the Sioux assured the permanence of the very attitudes on which they were dependent. The sharing of all property, "generosity," has been described as a Sioux virtue. It is indeed true that this sharing served many important functions in its own right, but it also prevented the emergence of potential inequalities in the mutuality of social controls which the Sioux could not tolerate. Traditional society recognized and elaborated, in this way, painful residues of the conditions under which the individual first confronted social demands. From the earliest experience in the peer group and throughout life, social controls confronted the Sioux with the painful possibility of becoming inferior, a danger to be avoided by making sure ~~the~~ that he was always as good as anyone else. In the area of social controls, Sioux society kept always available the angry coerciveness which otherwise was discharged on the natural environment.

This method of socialization carefully avoided investing single individuals with coercive authority. The controls were exercised by the whole group in a diffuse fashion. Adults, who could potentially become individualized and powerful bearers of control were excluded from this area of socialization. The adults were sources of satisfaction, whose products were taken in by the child. They were not allowed to complicate the function of giving with controlling demands; they did not come to participate in the enforcement of social controls until after these had been established in confrontation with peers. In this fashion the Sioux method of child training led to the creation of internalized social control based on the confrontation of equals. Only the concerted reaction of the group emerged as a controlling force capable of overpowering the individual's own capacity to control others. To the extent that the individual shared in the enforcement of these controls, even this inequality decreased, although it remained as the most powerful means of controlling individual action.

The absence of the parents and other adults from the training of the child in the emotional rudiments of social control must be emphasized, since it contributed a great deal to the quality of Sioux moral conscience. The giving of total gratification to the child was in this way prevented from becoming the link that could make the biological inequality with adults a concrete and integral part of the system of controlling and being controlled. Instead it was the entire group of peers or slightly older children which gave diffuse support, provided models of behavior, and extended recognition or rejection; this was the area of interaction within which there were conveyed to the child the specific demands of the society. In this manner, the mutuality of giving and taking within a system of exchanges, in specific items of feeling and behavior, was distributed throughout the whole kinship structure of the band.

As the Sioux child learned the emotional rudiments of social controls, he learned also to identify the varieties of social transactions available to him within the kinship system. Via interplay between self-control and outer demands, he found his way through a range of confrontations with the kinds of persons, roles, and statuses available in the group. In these interactions, he experienced the various facets of respect, avoidance, tenderness, fortitude, generosity, and cooperation that gave order to Sioux interpersonal exchanges. He had a place in this order as a focus of specific reactions of others that defined his own form of individuality. The connections of the group to the supernatural were disclosed to him as he came to participate in such practices as ear-piercing, through which he contributed his own token of self-torture. Didactic fables and tales were told to him to guide him through the mythology of the society; that mythology retraced the culture's view of how things that were good had been right, and had worked well in encounters with the different faces of ancestral evil that survived in present sins. He learned the history of actual exploits, feuds, victories, defeats, and struggles that his group had experienced; progressively he was brought to share the past existence of the society and to involve himself with its future fate. The accumulated understanding of the culture concerning regularities and irregularities of natural phenomena was given to him; in mastering the tools and techniques that the society had developed, he received the implementation of this understanding. In games and through guidance the child practiced the mastering of implements; in the mastering he merged his growing abilities and personal gifts with the techniques and goals of his society. From the very first he was tested on his capacity to bring the best and strongest in him into the utilization of what he received as weapons, tools, and strategies in war and hunting. Here the adults entered as a decisive influence. Older men might lead a group of naked three and four-year old children in attacking a hornet's nest in which they practiced the strategies of tracking, surrounding, and overcoming a dangerous enemy while being able to endure pain unflinchingly.

Through all these actions and encounters the child expanded the interpenetration of self-control with the demands and meanings by which the society pooled individual energies of the group for cooperative enterprise. This pooling of personal resources made Sioux society capable of exploiting the possibilities of the natural world beyond the capacity of its isolated members.

The pooling of individual talents and strengths within a cooperative division of labor can bring about a more efficient utilization of human resources. But, however effective are the tangible rewards of cooperation, no society can rely on these material advantages alone to insure individual readiness to participate. Sioux society made sure that its members joined in group purpose by invoking powerful emotional demonstrations of the consequences of participation and non-participation. A Sioux individual who did not share possessions was immediately cast out of the reciprocal exchange of social intercourse. He was an object of group shame, and a group target for ridicule, gossip, and slander. At the same time he was deprived of his capacity to shame others; his opinion of other people became less than meaningless to them; it was ignored. In this way he was isolated within the group as an internal enemy who could only receive but was not able to give back the hostility that energized the system of social controls.

He was at once outside, isolated and impotent, exposed to the elemental destructiveness in himself and from others that Sioux society held back to discharge on things and people outside itself. His own reactions to the impact of hostile isolation could find no outlet except within himself; to seek release for his emotions through further individual action exposed him to the danger of further alienation and shame. Increased separation only lengthened the distance he had to travel to re-find his position of safety in the limiting mutuality of hostile controls.

In his angry shame he could attack only himself, while he managed to bind and hold back his reactions to the attack from the group, and mastered whatever personal motives had caused him to be stingy in the first place. Here we re-find derivatives of the first infantile experience of separation from an all-giving source. His exclusion from the mutuality of social controls banished him from a vital source of well-being, just as the mother's attack had cut him off from his oral paradise. The two strategies, mother's blow and social ostracism, had systematic connections. They shared the same basic thematic relationship between technique, timing, emotional content, and actors. The earlier experience had made possible the strength and effectiveness of the later technique by having established that pervasive sense of meaningless and devitalized alienation that now was re-energized. That sense of alienation now found partial resolution, in the sharing with others of meaningful relationships between the danger of social separation and the satisfactions to be had in belonging to a controlling order.

iii. The identity crisis

In the period of adolescence Sioux individuals had to face the problem of integrating the several strands of relative belongingness and relative autonomy; of balancing coercive levelling and the need for diversified personal roles; of making use of individual contributions without destroying the balance achieved in the past; of stabilizing individual functions without robbing them of personal energy. In the childhood of the individual, the group had alternatively manipulated, emphasized, restricted, revived, punished, incited, repressed, guided, and ignored aspects of feeling, behavior, and meaning; now it had to cooperate with the person in establishing a lasting formulation that unified all the possibilities of being himself that he had experienced in the past. The coming arrival of full biological maturity demanded that alternative means of self-expression became integrated before he could find organized and organizing means to discharge the powerful energies that were rapidly accumulating in him. His new vigor recharged the remnants of all of his important interactions with the world--the integrations achieved, but also those possibilities in himself which those integrations had excluded or bypassed. The accruing residue of the experiences that were never shared; the content of his private meanings, of his own view of the world that had been derived from his personal biological endowment and from the vicissitudes of meaningful interpersonal communication, now insisted on being included in this final commitment.

In his new state of increased emotional complexity, the adolescent would at times experience all the possibilities within himself as essential to him; he found himself driven to hold on to those things that were his alone, to the ways in which he was like nobody else had been. But no feat of emotional balance could achieve this all-inclusiveness. The individual would have to make a choice or fall prey to internal chaos; he had to resolve his content of new experiences, lest he become a stranger to himself and to his society. To achieve a meaningful choice between the alternatives he experienced, the adolescent needed a rationale, an ideology if you wish, that would justify his choice and make possible a meaningful integration of the items selected within a commitment to a future identity. The individual and the group perceived this crisis as a problem of mutual adjustment; as the need for integrating the individual within the group without destroying a vital core of personal energy.

At this moment Sioux society intensified the elements of the conflicts in the adolescent, as a means for achieving a mutually satisfying solution. The adolescent who at moments now felt so different from everybody else and alien to the social situation in which he found himself was sent out, alone and helpless, to fast and torture himself, in quest of a supernatural vision that would reintegrate him in his society. The enforced separation gave dramatic actualization to his autonomous wishes, but also intensified the equally strong pull of the social world on him. He was made to taste the lonely consequences of wanting a great deal, in the recurrent Sioux theme of the painful loss of a vital source of support. For the first time he met face to face the all-powerful supernatural to whom he had to surrender in pain and helplessness. If he now dared to want something beyond what he had in the group, only this meeting could give him strength and justification to have it.

The culture provided a limited repertory of plots for the adolescent encounter with the great power, while the priests who interpreted the vision also strove to fit their content within the available range of persons that Sioux society permitted within itself. Within limits the individual saw what his previous exposure to this experience by others had conveyed to him, and what was taught to him by old men before the vision quest. What he saw was given further structure by the later interpretation of the manifest content of his vision by the shaman. He went out already prepared to try to integrate his inner reality with the reality in which others lived. Prolonged isolation, torture, hunger, fear, and inculcated belief induced a hypnotic concentration of the adolescent on his own psychic processes. In his semi-delirious state, the individual hallucinated the contents of his inner reality. The history of his psychic development was retraced in a series of shifting external images--a condensed projection of his emotional past; like the tales and legends of the society this vision constituted a private mythology expressed in the semi-private symbols developed by his culture. In the hallucination he tested the compelling power of his inner preoccupations, the extent to which particular constellations of drives were strong enough to create a reality of their own, once the individual gave them free range by abandoning conscious controls. In retelling his visions to the shaman he was aided in sorting the relative strength of the compelling forces in him; he had to convince himself and the interpreter that particular aspects of the dream were indeed the strongest and most demanding for expression. Jointly they chose those images in the vision that were both most vital and most capable of being reformulated in a sense of identity that was both personally and socially meaningful.

The vision was the adolescent's own contribution of supernatural power to his group: a bridge which by establishing a new connection between the private reality of the adolescent and the experience of the group gave shared meaning to his inner life and made his personal energies part of the community's reserve of cooperative strength. The supernatural formulation of this exchange of energy and meaning expressed the society's perception of the breakdown of mutuality that exists as long as there are in individuals, definitions of reality that cannot be shared. In this final definition of what the individual was to be from then on, Sioux culture completed the establishment of its own version of moral conscience as a diffuse and peripheral system of mutual regulations. There was no attempt at creating a concrete "inner voice"; the interpenetration of inner demands and outer controls was focussed in the exchange of contributions, satisfactions, and regulation between the individual and the whole group. The supernatural power remained forever outside, existing in the individual only as a partial gift of strength and blessing, not as an inner dictating control.

In the definition of his sense of identity, the Sioux adolescent reproduced the emotional elements characteristic of his society's view of the world. In dealings with members of his group, he exercised elastic techniques of mutual regulation and exchanges that arrived at varied compromises between conflicting motivations in himself and in others. Within this social mutuality he experienced an elastic balance between autonomy and belongingness in which his personal freedom was limited only as he encountered other persons whose transactions with him dictated the imposing of self-regulation. In the intervals between such transactions he carried no consistent inner demands for self-control. Beyond his society, the system of differentiated self-control had no relevance. Only to a limited extent, when he was acting alone, would he contain his anger and destructiveness until the moment when its discharge into the outer world would be most effective. The interaction within a war party or in a group of hunters was necessary to block his need for immediate and unrestrained release of his energies. He required self-denial and pain to provide justification to himself for the manifestation of his initiative, the expression of those powers that had not yet received institutional place, his desires to make and do highly personal things.

In his relationship to the expression of personal initiative the Sioux was somewhat like the children in our culture who become emotionally disturbed by not being able to find what they can give back to all-giving mothers. If the mothers insist on great disproportion between giving and taking, children may find it necessary to hold back or to discharge into themselves those energies which have no place in their mutuality with their mothers, since they may possibly stop the flow of what is received, receiving being predicated in not giving back. Such children may develop somatic distresses that force the giving mother to give even more, while in a covert way they manage to discharge toward her whatever sense of resentment they experienced in the enforced total dependence that they cannot control by contributing mutuality to it. In other cases, a child of such a mother holds back the expression of something within himself that would constitute an act of autonomous giving. He may go for many years without being able to read; he becomes blind to the tools of his potential to know more, painfully and angrily denies himself (and his mother) the satisfaction of becoming more powerful and efficient in discharging his curiosity; denies the energies that reach out from him to know and control the world beyond himself. In this way he may succeed in giving his mother reason for concern, reason for giving the child even more and continuing to give as long as the problem exists. He creates mutuality by contributing the predictability of being given, and at the same time he discharges toward his mother some of the anger he experienced in his impotence; he punishes her by threatening the sense of accomplishment that is often so important to these mothers: he makes himself into a bad product of her giving. These strategies cost the child a great deal but are powerful tools for creating mutuality between mother and child, however covert and hostile; the devices are binding and self-perpetuating, short of benign happenings that re-establish mutual exchange at a more direct and comfortable level. We have had occasion to witness in clinical situations the dramatic disappearance of seemingly intractable and chronic symptomatology of this sort when these all-giving mothers become capable of receiving back from their children tokens of the satisfactions and disappointments the children experience in the act of getting.

Similarly, in Sioux society individuals grew up without being able to integrate the acts of taking and giving back in single actions or in continuous sequences of actions. In their relations with their parents and with the supernatural they were as impotent as over-indulged children, a fact that the culture utilized to provide the emotional energies that were directed to the essential functions of war and hunting. Derivatives of these same emotions also found partial discharge in aggression toward themselves in ritual practices, and in the hostile content of social sanctions.

As is true in all important psychological happenings, the emotional maladjustment of these children includes a variety of other contributing factors, so that the interpretation we have presented selects only a central feature, a suggestion of what it is like for human beings to live in a system of limited mutuality. We are not proposing that Sioux adults were either child-like or sick; they established their own particular version of a balance between remnants of infantile experience and adult integration. They achieved as individuals whatever compromise they were capable of deriving from the interplay of their idiosyncratic endowments with their development as social persons.

iv. Impotence, omnipotence, mutuality

We have reached the point of this outline of pre-reservation Sioux society which makes it possible to state that all the elements of that society, from the social structure to the orientation of individual personalities, operated as an organized system of belief, action, and feeling that included a very specific thematic relationship between four possible states of human action:

1. Total giving and total taking within the social system.
2. Total taking from, and complete absence of giving to, the supernatural.
3. Total giving to, and complete absence of taking from, the outside world.
4. Total absence of either taking or giving; the untenable position of separation, isolation and death.

Each type of behavior had its own area of discharge, and each area of action excluded all relationships but that appropriate to that behavior. Only in the organization of the social world could there be said to exist a mutuality of exchange, elaborated and differentiated through mutual compromise. This differentiated organization of the social world was predicated on the simultaneous and separate presence of sources of total intake of power and channels for total discharge of strength. Differentiation and control in these two areas of behavior was minimal and precarious, depending in turn on the differentiation and mastery that could be borrowed from the social system.

Sioux society was predicated on the existence of these polarities, as well as on the structure of the social order in which they had achieved differentiation, order, and compromise. These three levels of reality operated as an integral system: in the basic emotional platform of Sioux world view, any of the three levels required the presence of the other two. The social, spiritual, and ecological balance of the society as it was, could operate successfully only within the content of these three aspects of their world view. Social change, cultural transformation, and technological growth among the Sioux are all dependent on these emotional foundations.

In the adolescent crisis those individuals who could achieve personal identities that approximated the culture's ideal balance of energies became hunters and warriors, the most rewarded roles in Sioux society. These were the men who possessed a boundless sense of confidence in the availability of power, and in their capacity to undergo the sacrifices necessary to receive this power when they needed it. They would be relentless and pitiless in their aggressive mastery of enemy and prey, driven by a violent need for massive discharge that made them immune to fear, blind to danger, since the fear of possible reciprocity never complicated the sadistic release of their energies. When they were most potently endowed with supernatural power, the warrior and hunter believed themselves to be invulnerable, even invisible like the wind in which they rode.[6] A glorious death or a painful wound were but concrete testimonials of their strength, of the elemental destructiveness that invaded them and of their power to prove that they were worthy of such a gift. These were also the men who in the Sun Dance would dramatize for the whole group the most painful and total surrender to the supernatural from which all power was derived; they could experience to the highest pitch the cultural anxiety of separation from the ultimate vital source, and be capable of courting self-destruction in re-establishing communion with the supernatural.[7] The role of these Sioux men was the culture's paradigm of maleness: a representation, in the actions and feelings of individuals, of the essential emotional attributes of the relationship of the society to those things that existed beyond itself.

This ideal virility moved between two extreme poles: omnipotent and invulnerable discharge at one, and an approximation to total impotence at the other. The tension between mastery and passivity was maintained within the mutualities created for social interaction. The sexual roles of men and women prescribed that the two sexes should be mutually exclusive in their emotional attributes. The ideal of womanhood was a passive, subservient, self-effacing and obedient human being whose life was embedded in the continuous toil of those menial tasks that men considered to be beneath their dignity.[8] The women carried out the everyday work necessary for the maintenance of orderly existence, while the life of the ideal male was a constant preparation for emergencies of defense, attack, and hunting, when he acted like a highly specialized destructive instrument. Women were legal sexual prey to those men who could conquer them. If a man could assert that he had even touched a woman's vulva, the circle of women would impose on the girl the destructive ostracism that was the recurrent theme of Sioux social relations. Isolated, exposed, and defenseless, such a woman was forced to accept the protection of the man who had attacked and exposed her, if she did not choose to become a communal sexual object or resort to suicide.

The suicide of young girls is a common theme in Sioux legends and tales, while the account of suicide among men is virtually absent. Women were known to express the wish for death as an escape ~~for~~ from the denial and coersion that was their lot in life.[9] The exploitation of women in this society found partial restitution in their eventual capacity to share in the products of male achievement; they could joyfully participate in the mutilation of dead enemies,[10] and wave the string of scalps while they chanted the glory or the anger of the band. As a mother, the woman carried out the training of her children with joy and satisfaction, but also without pity for the child on whom she enforced an angry autonomy when she made him release the breast when he wanted it too strongly. We suspect that this drastic separation, while most visible in the battles of teething, must have included a variety of other actions which for being more covert were not necessarily less powerful.

Emotional intimacy between the sexes was the one area of life where there existed a possibility of merging the emotional components so drastically separated by the polarity of sexual roles. Once sexual intimacy was established the emotional separation between man and woman was safeguarded by their unequal share of autonomy and coercion. Tenderness may have existed as long as it did not threaten this separation. Only in courting a desirable virgin would men behave ingratiatingly and seductively, abandoning temporarily their aggressiveness for the love flute and tender songs. At these moments young men might be overcome with doubts about their capacity to maintain both angry control and passive surrender; these threatened to merge in the experience of tenderness. In dreams, they would be warned of the consequences of this danger, and be directed to engage in ritual propitiation to Haokah Ozape, the Giant, the symbol of powerful and destructive maleness, who represented the anti-natural forces in the world.[11] In the ritual the young man would submit in the company of others to tortures through which they proved that they were strong enough to resist the temptation to surrender any part of their maleness.

In Sioux society the closest bond of emotional intimacy, the most tender identification with another person, was possible only between brother and brother and between sister and sister, a social precaution that diverted and contained the energies that could overcharge the emotional intimacy between man and woman. Adolescents who could not effect this compromise would be forced to join the ranks of the opposite sex; girls would become "crazy," aggressive seekers of men, and even warriors; boys would become "berdaches," taking the dress, tasks, and duties of women, even their sexual roles. As homosexuals, they were visited by warriors before battle, as if the warriors needed to achieve a concrete and final mastery over and residue of weakness in themselves by conquering the passivity of these symbolically castrated males.

Women and berdaches were the persons who manufactured those objects that went beyond the immediate needs for survival. Berdaches would often excel in the creation of bead work, patterns of design, and works of primitive art. But real men, in whom the group invested and contained its greatest reservoir of energies, limited their creative and procreative potential to making children and contributing to the transformation of these children into images of themselves through indoctrination and example. In this fashion the culture saved most of its energies for those crises of survival that required the massive conquest of the enemy and the killing of game, thus cutting itself off from the possibility of generating products for purposes beyond immediate consumption. The group avoided the accumulation of the products of human action which could be invested with a possessiveness that tied human beings to them or that diverted men from the required state of constant alertness and emergency which it considered essential to its survival. In the emotional logic of Sioux culture, human beings had to need and to want very intensely to regain nurturance, support, and grace, before they could be expected to be powerful enough to face the dangers involved in having and discharging effective strength. Objects could be allowed to satisfy that need even partially. Nothing was allowed which might create a bond between the Sioux and the outer world; nothing was allowed to interfere with the radical separation that existed between the group and those things beyond itself. Objects and products which could embody human energy, things in which human energy and natural resources merged in organized results, never had a place in the Sioux view of the world.

Sioux society recognized the value inherent in the accumulation of personal experiences through a long life. The oldest members of the bands when no longer capable of other activities came to embody the voice of traditional wisdom. Jointly and individually the old men had greater power to enforce virtues and to counsel; a particular segment of the society whose opinion carried more weight to shame and to coerce others under the right conditions, particularly when the group was confronted with problems that could not be solved immediately. At such moments the old functioned as a social force that brought about deliberation and postponement of action. This power was never dictatorial and could not enforce solutions; it was rather a recognized and useful guide to action under stress when the more powerful warriors and hunters could not find radical solutions. As he reached his biological decline the individual was allowed to become a powerful social force limited only by the present availability of active resources. The society in this way accepted the enlarged perspective of the old, who more than other members of the group could achieve detachment from the confines of present experience in conclusions and insights that were beyond the integrative capacity of individuals still comitted to more limited definitions of reality.

When the ethnocentric Sioux society was finally faced with the loss of the physical and social conditions that made possible its ancestral organization, the areas of life that were drastically destroyed were those in which the brave and strong male participated and for which he had become specialized. Hunting, war and the Sun Dance were destroyed. All that remained was contained in the social and psychological arrangements within the group. Two segments of the society were due to survive as elements of continuity with the past: the role of women, and the influence of the old within the group. In the privacy of the most intimate social transactions they continued to carry out those actions that developed in themselves and in others the emotional perspective on which the old social system had been based. The survival of this powerful emotional content in the absence of essential sources for its intake and channels for its discharge, dictated the quality of change in Teton-Dakota society after they came to live on reservations.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the final analysis, the survival of all societies depends on having members who want to live and defend the way of life which the society has chosen. Necessity and design condition the choice of organized life which constitutes a society as distinguished from merely a human aggregate. The culture of a society is at one level just what the word culture means: a nutrient medium, in which, under controlled conditions, a given form of life grows. The individual member of a society is endowed with an organization of his own: the integration of his biological endowment and potential in a character or personality.

Every culture sets up critical limits that select, from all the possible combinations and permutations of human experiences, a given range of individual organizations of behavior. Through this selection, the culture is instrumental in creating social units that fit into the segment of reality in which the society lives.

On the other hand, society and culture are the tools which man uses to transform himself from a human being into a person, i.e., to achieve the final unfolding of the potential that exists in the isolated individual only as a possibility. Organized social processes are the result and the means of establishing the purposeful, autonomous, and integrated process we call self, as well as the content of shared meanings and significant symbols we label mind. Only through social interaction can human beings become persons by acquiring minds and selves (G.H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society), a process of continuous unfolding that takes place throughout the whole life of the individual. Just as the society requires the participation of a given type of person which it seeks to foster and develop, so the persons in the group cooperate in defending and maintaining the conditions of which they are a product, and which in turn guarantee their future development.

The sustained mutual regulation of individual and society is conditional on events in their independent histories. The fate of the group includes the possibility of radical changes in its transactions with the human and natural world beyond itself, which may require an internal readjustment in the society; these may range from minor structural changes to major transformations in outlook and style. Societies differ widely in the provisions they make for distributing stresses within themselves and for redischarging them in the environment. Major changes in the internal organization of a society eventually confront the members with conditions that challenge the integration they had achieved in the past.

In themselves, human beings move through a series of biological happenings which parallels the sequential emergence of psychological possibilities that are universal givens of the human condition. All individuals are born small and helpless, biologically unfinished. In a universal sequence, nerves, muscles and organs develop, to achieve a physiological maturity that gives the body capacity to reproduce itself, and to get or produce the objects required to sustain its life. Human life begins and, when successful, also ends as a cooperative social enterprise. From an initial stage of total dependence on others, the individual must eventually develop into a person whom others can depend on. In moving from biological and social immaturity to maturity and autonomy, he must establish the culturally prescribed balance between a sense of trusting his relationship to a meaningful outside, a sense of being secure and unashamed when standing alone, a sense of confidence in his capacity to step beyond himself and to manipulate events without feeling that he has gone too far, a sense of adequacy in handling the tools of his economy, a feeling of achievement in having established his own version of all the possibilities open to him, a capacity to cooperate in intimacy without surrendering his sense of uniqueness, a comfortable freedom to invest aspects of himself in products, which he can then let go to follow their independent fate, and an assuring sense of having chosen well and wisely for himself and for others. (Erikson, Childhood and Society.)

These fundamental psychological characteristics are the products of the organization of complex transactions between the individual and his environment, social and physical; they cannot be described simply as conditioned reflex responses. Every connection that is established to create organization has as its consequence the creation of a semi-independent new event, a meaning: the apperceived relevance of the newly established bond to the ongoing process in which it took place. The capacity of the human being to be an evaluating audience to himself as a process makes meaning possible, and establishes its essential difference from cues or signs. Meaning is the basic contribution of man to the natural order, a derivative of his existence that brings natural events under the laws of his own vital order. This contribution underlies the elaborate interplay between man and his environment that leads to the creation of human products representing a merging of human impulse and natural events in larger and more complex forms. The transformation of the natural world is only one of the areas in which this process operates, but represents one of its most concrete manifestations.

At the boundary between internal processes and overt action, meaning brings about organized forms that concretize important meaning in a portion of the act through which the meaning was achieved. These objects are symbols. Meanings can be shared by individuals, so that the symbol that expresses a meaning has the same relevance to their respective organizations. Such symbols are "significant symbols" (Mead, op. cit.). The list of psychological attributes that we presented above as a sense of trusting, a feeling of achievement, etc., are the felt components of shared meanings. The history of the interaction between individual and society can be interpreted as the progressive development of shared meanings.

2. E.H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 117.

3. Ibid., p. 119.

4. The original act established conditions that had power to survive whether or not the culture eventually chose to recognize them. The new connection between wanting and getting established when the infant was struck on the head, at a time when he was becoming able to differentiate mother from self, committed the individual to the only formulation that the then state of his organism was capable of achieving. Traumatic impact forced a restructuring of reality at a moment in development when the individual had limited capacity to sort out stimuli and to integrate meaning. His system of selective adjustment to the environment was limited to taking in or throwing out. He had begun to be able to effect some differentiation and analysis, but the timing of the impact succeeded in throwing him back for a moment into a chaotic totality where no separation was possible; he was restructured around the elements present at the moment. The new connection that existed between things became an integral part of him to the extent that the blow was effective in bringing about disorganization. The reorganization that took place was energized largely from a level of automatic reflex responses that were his most highly developed inborn mechanisms of adjustment. Massive inrush of stimuli destroyed the selective function of cortical centers, making his system hypersensitive to stimulation; since the higher centers also control the

quality of energy output, he over-reacted in uncontrolled discharge of the reflex mechanisms that energize emotional response (Morgan and Stellar, Physiological Psychology). This result can be brought about even in the fully matured human being if the stimulation is strong enough; but the infant is particularly vulnerable to sudden increases of input because the architectural elements of his nervous system are still unfinished. The pathways between neocortex and phylogenetically older structures take several years to achieve full efficiency, so that voluntary control over input and output develops progressively over a long period of post-natal existence. (L. Charmichael, "The Experimental Embryology of Mind," pp. 1-28). Violent emotional discharge from the organism itself is in this way brought to bear on this item of early learning.

Clinical and experimental evidence shows that the surviving power of this learned connection can finally be traced to the plastic state of the infantile cortex (O. Hebb, The Organization of Behavior, pp. 120-126), in which strong emotional discharge creates a neural facilitation that influences the future recruitment of cell assemblies. The recruitment that takes place in the progressive growth of cerebral integration, reaching its peak in the relative autonomy of the adult cortex which integrates learned experience with intrinsic activitv. The diffused quality of this facilitation of future connections enhances the pervasive contribution of traumatic learning in the infant. (Hebb, op. cit., pp. 235-274). The net result is a powerful organic predisposition that sets important limits to future transactions between the individual and environmental stimulus.

This representation of the dynamics of infantile trauma takes account of the event as a possible organic reorganization. On the other hand, powerful infantile experiences also persist at the level of evaluated meanings, independent of their cultural fate, as the next paragraphs in the text indicate.

5. H.S. Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry.

6. At Wounded Knee the Ghost Dancers firmly believed that the white cotton worn by the initiated could not be pierced by bullets.

7. The Sun Dance included among other contents elements of phallic worship. In great need for food, water and rest, divested of their attributes as powerful males, the bravest men drove into their flesh a connecting line to the pole which the day before had represented the phallic potency of the society. The pole ascended into the male Sky and addressed itself to the blinding virility of the Sun God. Throughout the day the dancers faced into the sun as they rhythmically pulled at the ropes praying for strength to endure a simulacrum of rape that was redeeming and fulfilling.

8. "The peculiar sorrows of Sioux woman commence at birth since as a child she is despised, in comparison with the brother beside her, who is one day to be a great warrior." (M.H. Eastman, Dacohtah, p. iv). "Women would tell you that it was unlawful to beat a girl as much as you chose, but it was a sin to strike a boy!" (Ibid., p. 79.)

9. A Sioux woman would express her idea of future happiness by exclaiming: "Oh, that I were dead, when I shall have no more trouble." Ibid, p. xxiv.

10. The children among the Sioux were trained from early life by the women to look with indifference on the suffering or death of a hated person. Children would make necklaces with women of the feet and hands of enemy children. Ibid., p. xxix.

11. Ibid., pp. 243-253.

Chapter 10. The Sioux Society in Captivity: Reservation Life

i. Introduction: Disorganization and change

When the Sioux first lost their economic independence and then were forced to live on reservations, the spiritual, social, spatial, and material prerequisites for the functioning of their society came to a sudden end. They lost the environmental conditions basic to their system through spatial limitation, the disappearance of game, and the end of tribal wars. Enforced proximity in a large group destroyed the essential separateness of the bands, while government land allotment policy aiming at making them self-sufficient isolated individual families. Repressive controls destroyed their religious rituals and cut them off from those energies within themselves that had been given meaning in the process of reaching their cultural goals. The centripetal effects of confinement only activated to a greater intensity the need for maintaining the centrifugal emotional perspective of the culture as it survived in individual persons and in institutions.

The following description of Sioux society as it persists today is of necessity a cursory summary of some central issues. The interplay between the Sioux tribes and the American culture, economy, and government has taken place under a complex series of historical changes which would require separate treatment beyond the scope of this report. In the eighty-two years that have elapsed since the Oglalas and Brulés came to live in the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations several generations of individuals have been reared under radically different social and economic conditions. The range of acculturation and social change during that period has never been studied in detail and must wait for future interdisciplinary research to provide a factual description. At this time, we can only attempt to give an over-all estimate within the limits of our observations against the background of previous studies.

ii. The kinship group

At the time the reservations were created, most of the bands camped in the vicinity of the site of the Agency. During the 1880's the different bands began to spread out over reservation land, selecting particular creeks and small wooded valleys for the individual bands. The band as an extended family first camped together but soon individual families began to build permanent homes along the creeks. The original circle of tepees in the band now stretched as a straight line on both sides of the original camp. As population increased the community would split, with groups of families moving to another creek or to a spot some distance away within the same area. In this way the bands continued to grow and divide as they had done before they came to the reservation.

Individual bands first scattered from the Agency to maintain the autonomy of the group as they had done traditionally. Only sporadically had they lived in larger associations. Unable to move to any great distance they found isolated places where they could find shelter and water supply, but then spontaneously the band stretched out and families became more separated than they had ever been. This development took place before government policy attempted to change them into self-sufficient nuclear families. We suggest that in the original band, frictions and the hostility that resulted from group interaction, and that could find only partial expression within the society, were discharged beyond the group. Now that this discharge was no longer possible, the old close circle of controls and obligations could no longer be mentioned.

The extended family group started to loosen its bonds, but it did not disappear. Later, when families were given lands as individual allotments, groups of related families chose to settle on lands bordering on each other, keeping alive the extended group. When lands were finally sold or leased, these families tended to move together, forming the nuclei of reservation communities.

A number of present local groups derive from single small bands. In the life of these communities, the Sioux continued to exercise what they could of the older form of social organization and social controls.

As the families became semi-autonomous, group controls became less stringent, but continued to operate. Teasing and shaming were kept as powerful tools for imposing the traditional values that maintained alive the now diminished cohesiveness of the kinship system. Even up to the present, the old system of family relations is recognized by the majority of the Sioux in these reservations. Father, mother, brother, sister, cousin are categories that include a great number of relatives beyond the biological family. Kinship social obligations continue to be enforced even when family members are widely scattered over the reservation. To give and to share with one's relatives is a matter of honor, failure to comply still draws on the individual communal anger and shame. Individuals nowadays differ widely in the extent to which they will respond to social pressure, but more often than not the individual finds it necessary to leave the reservation if he is to avoid spending his resources on all his needy relatives. When everyone shared, the burden of giving for a given person was mitigated by his receiving from others what he needed in turn. Today, with the great majority of the Indians in the reservation chronically poor and unemployed, sharing still tends to make all individuals economic equals, but the equality is poverty.

Traditionally, sharing was a rewarding virtue, but also a vital mutuality that was imposed on the individual under the constant threat of ostracism and intolerable isolation. Under present conditions, when mutual controls cannot longer operate effectively, the hostile elements that protected the old virtue can often get out of hand. Mutual regulation and mutual support become mutual exploitation, with tragic results. Young men and women, and even married couples with children will come to stay with elderly relatives living on old-age pensions, remaining as long as supplies last without great concern about immediate contribution to the household. They leave and move on to another relative or to a source of work, leaving the old people to fend for themselves until the next monthly check arrives. An old man in one of these reservations came home from the hospital where his wife had died to find his home stripped of all its contents. Neighbors and relatives had taken it upon themselves to anticipate the traditional expression of grief in which the individual divested himself of all earthly possessions--a cultural device which allowed the expression of anger against fate by attacking oneself, and at the same time brought the mourner closer to his surviving kin by allowing him to give more than others and in turn dramatized his need for support as he became helpless and destitute.

Finding no means for outer discharge, hostility and aggression turn on the group itself. Levelling equalitarian demands becomes vindictive and angry coercion. An individual may be forced to lose his job and destroy his health and his family life by spending his salary drinking with friends and relatives to prove that his capacity to earn a living in the non-Indian economy has not made him an alien and a potential enemy. Inter-family feuds are kept alive and smoldering, creating a constant source of weapons to be used against a person who attempts to become a leader or to rise in any way above the group. The most intimate and painful details of his private life are known and talked about to undermine any respect he may attempt to claim for himself.

The extended kinship group as it survives today provides the individual Sioux with a haven of protection and support; with a feeling of identity as a person that is his by right of birth. This is a precious commodity when the Indian encounters so many racial and economic barriers as he attempts to go beyond the confines of the reservation. But this protection is provided only at the expense of dividing the reservation into hostile and exclusive groups unable to find a communal purpose that would ameliorate the precarious existence that makes group belongingness both very important and self-defeating.

iii. The family

Tensions within the group and the concerted efforts of government policy have tended to isolate the biological family. Even though something remains of the extended family, the nuclear family is today the social unit. The independence of the conjugal family brings it in conflict with the social ideal of a cooperative and emotionally close extended family.[1] Marriages have become an affair to be arranged between individuals; family negotiations and exchanges of gifts have almost totally disappeared. Young people fail to perceive the nuances of the kinship structure, or ignore traditional rules that condemned marriage between certain groups of relatives, but the older people still consider these injunctions vital to safeguard the organization of the kinship as it should be.

The father and mother now displace the whole group as provider and protector of growing children. The authority invested in these roles conflicts with the social demands of the extended family. The two systems of authority undermine each other to the extent that individuals try to hold on to both of them; the individual finds it possible now to move from one level to the other and escape the concerted action that made the traditional society so effective in regulating behavior.

With the erosion of kinship group functions, the biological father came to be invested with formal executive capacities at the time when he lost his functions of provider and defender, but the actual content of his role makes a mockery of its formal definition. The mother, on the other hand, has become the center of the family. She now carries the greater responsibility for direction and support. Women are often the earners of whatever meager financial support keeps the family intact. This new capacity in women is confronted with the continuing demand of males to exert their prerogatives as masters, even if their manly independence can only take the form of drinking bouts.

In their new emotional and behavioral freedom, women have not taken easily to the continuance of sexual inequalities. They now find it easier to desert their families and live openly with other men; to berate and belittle their husbands; even to beat their children--actions that were unimaginable in traditional society.[2]

Children are caught in the disorganization of family life, and may find it necessary to move away and live with relatives. This behavior was accepted in the old society as part of the total belongingness of the individual in the group, but for a child to leave his father's tepee permanently would have been a great insult to the parents. The continuing independence granted the child by the group makes it possible for him to escape his biological family if conditions become too painful, but by the same token it opens avenues for rejection of the parents even when their authority is handled wisely. Traditional autonomy is reinforced by the frictions and disappointments of present-day conditions to the point of becoming lawlessness.

In the stresses within the biological family we see again the disruptive power of surviving attitudes and values that disjointed the kinship group without unifying the nuclear family. Father, mother, and children now live closer in each others company, in more prolonged isolation from wider groups, than was ever possible before. Necessarily, their emotional interaction is charged with elements of hostility and tenderness that were distributed to the larger group in traditional Sioux society. The male and the female have lost much of their previous roles in a meaningful division of labor, but prevailing values and training attempt to preserve the previous inequalities in sexual roles. The result is a further increase of family conflicts. Even in this last refuge of individual autonomy, men find it difficult to maintain some sense of mastery as women become jealous of the neglect of their new prerogatives. Children can in this way experience very early in life the impact of emotional conflict around them without being able to move away from it, for the outer world is itself hostile, and seems even more dangerous and conflicted to them because they bring to their interaction with it a pervading sense of disorganization. Within the limits of its effective functioning, the nuclear family and the kinship group continue to provide these same children with as much gratification and individual freedom as is possible, thus making the social group experience in spite of its disorganization, attractive and seductive in retrospect when the individual has to face new crises on his own.

iv. The reservation, and relationships to the outside

The Oglalas and Brulés have come to think of themselves as the Pine Ridge and the Rosebud Sioux tribes. The reservations are geographic and political units but remain empty of a social cohesiveness that could make them emotional realities. There are no powerful integrative forces that unify the whole reservations. Political leadership among the Sioux has been ephemeral and weak, since the society has not found it possible to allow the emergence of leaders who could not be controlled through gossip, ridicule, and impeachment. The smooth running of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, on the other hand, has often demanded administrative action that undermines the authority of emergent leaders, because they threaten to take away the Bureau's power to carry out the protective paternalism it has considered essential to what it conceives of as the best interests of the Indians as its social and economic wards.

Even if the Sioux were not caught between their own suspicion of vested authority among themselves and the controlling manipulations of the Indian Bureau, they would still have to face the problem of creating a group identity. The bands were disjoined social groups that found it essential to live away from each other the better part of each year so that they could come together periodically to pool their physical and spiritual resources. The ritual practices that made possible this reunion disappeared long ago and with them went the organized political controls that maintained peace and order in the large group of associated bands. With the coming of political and economic dependence, the Sioux lost the only form of extensive system of political and social organization they had ever developed, and still find it difficult to regulate the stresses that result from their having to live permanently with each other.

To the extent that the Sioux have been successful in perceiving that their own internal stresses contribute to their continued dependence on the federal government, they have released possibilities for internal cohesiveness that make for the development of social institutions which can relate them more effectively to the larger political, economic and social system in which they have to live. The leaders of the Rosebud tribe have shown the possibility of reconciling internal factions; the resulting unity creates a greater degree of self-determination and makes it possible for Indian leadership to establish a record of service that reaches the most pressing common problems in the reservation. This type of leadership has managed to escape the ephemeral existence of Indian governments before and after the reservations came into existence.

The pressing problem of internal cohesiveness is only as great as the challenge of the paternalistic controls of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a bureaucratic entity controlled primarily by the dictates of its own internal organization, with limited capacity for flexibility in dealing with the social and economic problems it purports to handle. The most ethical and the best meaning policies on Indian affairs sometimes become sterile and inflexible when implemented. Bureau administrators find it almost impossible to compromise official values by adapting them via local political and social interaction.

The success of political leaders among the Rosebud tribe is largely due to their understanding that their capacity to control their transactions with the Bureau in face-to-face actions in the field is extremely limited. They have recognized the Bureau as an administrative structure operating at the end of a complex social and political system to which the Sioux can find access if they are willing to recognize the realities that lie beyond their own society and use them for their own purpose as they once made use of western arms and powder. Indian leadership is finding that the instrumentation of policy can be controlled by them only through participation in the political and social determinants of Bureau management that originate in the larger American society. The Bureau finds this discovery troublesome and as disconcerting as the problem of dealing with the social and political realities in these tribes through mechanisms of management that are only the final by-product of conditions beyond the reservations themselves.

Alongside, and sometimes in conflict with, the Sioux growing awareness of political power, they have experimented with another form of wider belongingness as they have come to identify themselves with other Indian groups in the United States in what is called the Pan-Indian movement. As the Sioux travel around the country in rodeos and fairs, or while visiting relatives that have settled in other states, they have brought back with them cultural practices and artifacts borrowed from other Indian tribes--dances, songs, native dress, ceremonials. This identification is limited to a few items of behavior, and does not include any substantial identification of themselves with the rest of the American Indians as a racial and political minority. Nation-wide organization of Indian tribes such as the National Congress of American Indians provide a forum in which the Sioux, interacting with other American Indians, are attempting to formulate a common purpose and devise means of concerted action. The immediate results of these attempts to create Indian institutions that could integrate the diversities of Indian life in the United States may seem disappointing when one examines their tangible accomplishments. The need for immediate results has tended to make the present leadership in these organizations define the issues largely in legalistic terms; the nation-wide Indian membership becoming a background for lobbying on large and diffuse issues.

The results of this lobbying are more in the nature of symbolic monuments to Indian participation in the political process, than the actual impact that these associations could exert. This is largely due to the fact that leadership until the present has attempted to by-pass the problem of internal cohesiveness and to manipulate such organizations into a semblance of unity rather than reality; the reality has still to be built. The younger generation of Indian leaders are justifiably impatient with the perpetuation of only apparent unanimity and want to come to grips with the real problem of reconciling their diverse vested interests through institutions that can achieve unifying action by recognizing and integrating internal complexities and stresses.

It is interesting to note that the political leaders of the Rosebud tribe are in the forefront of the movement to make these national organizations into tools of mutual understanding among the diverse tribal experiences in the United States that would define and safeguard their individual perspectives and vested interests, yet define their common goals in American society. To these younger leaders symbolic unity is empty and impotent as long as the different tribes cannot share their individual perspectives of the larger political and economic system in which they have to operate a process of sharing that would integrate what are now segmental and isolated experiences in the operation of the over-all system. In this fashion they rightly hope to reclaim themselves from the isolation in which they have tended to define the larger society as a monolithic force to be handled only through total solutions that ignore the changing and diversified complexity that is the true nature both of their own and of the larger American society to which they belong.

This change in perspective marks a radical departure from the emotional outlook that has pervaded the relationship of the Sioux to the outside and to themselves. The facts of political domination and complete economic dependence resulted in a feeling of total impotence against powerful controls. The group was fettered and unable to contribute any sense of mutuality to the impact from the outside. Traditional definitions of social reality reinforced the actual separation that was created in the contact with a cultural system so radically different from the Sioux social organization. The ethnocentric character of the old Sioux culture avoided any transformation of itself, as well as any redefinition and restructuring of events beyond that society. After these tribes lost the foundations of their economy, they attempted to regain mastery through covert means. Anger, resentment, claim and counter-claim, passive resistance and magical attempts at control (Ghost Dances) anchored the energies of the society on past events that were not open to reformulation, as the group continued to insist on carrying into the future what was left of their traditional identity.

Covert and rebellious inflexibility has only added to the destructive impact of unavoidable events and kept the Sioux from participating constructively in the process of social change. External coercion in the context of material dependence manipulated Sioux society; internal stresses created increasing social disorganization that threatened to tear Sioux society apart from within where it was not successful in molding itself into new external forms. The Sioux have become aware that it is no longer enough nor efficient to continue the strategy of "playing possum," a strategy which conservative members still express today as: "We'll be all right as long as we can keep the white men believing that we are dumb." Individuals here and there, young and old, full-blood and mixed-blood, male and female, have come to realize how this strategy has contributed to the destruction of the very cultural identity that it attempts to protect, by destroying themselves and their society while leaving the invading enemy intact and more powerful than before.

Observers in the past have remarked that life on these reservations makes the visitor feel "as if he were a part of a slow-motion picture, as if a historical burden arrested the life around him."[3] This image successfully represents the temper of life in the reservation in daylight. There is an appalling hush as the Indians move around on their errands, stand in corners, or huddle in lines in the Bureau and tribal offices. Men, women, and children go about like so many ghosts that feel painfully uncomfortable in bright light. But under the cover of darkness the reservation comes alive; throughout the whole night people travel around in cars, visiting each other, going and coming from wakes, dances, religious meetings, or enjoying what sometimes appears to be the sheer pleasure of travelling around. This contrast is a dramatic expression of the technique through which the Sioux have withdrawn their energies to a secretive and shady area where they continue to operate detached from the unbearable reality that surrounds them.

The Sioux of today live in two time dimensions that make it possible to continue the separation of what they really are from the blinding and coercive separate reality beyond them. Some Bureau executives hope for great change in Sioux attitudes toward work and punctuality from indoctrinating Sioux children very early in the value of time as a commodity and a system of order. These expectations are bound to be disappointed. The Sioux very clearly know one of the values of time; they use it as a device for segregating human actions into useful discontinuities. The psychological consequences of temporal divisions can be integrated only by a separate act of will, a reorganization that is not provided by the roundness of the clock or the serial numbering of the hours. The Sioux behave as if they were dreaming while the non-Indian society is at work and become active only when members of the time-bound white society withdraw into their dreams and abandon reality for the Sioux to enjoy as a private possession.

When these men talk about teaching the Indians to value time, they are in fact suggesting that in some mechanical (magical) way the Sioux can be taught or induced to submit themselves to the dictates of a system that they feel they cannot control, and into which they cannot bring what they consider to be the most important elements of themselves except at the price of unbearable compromise--giving up the phenomenological duality that makes life tolerable, their last vestige of autonomy.

The point at which a given form of autonomy becomes too expensive and burdensome to maintain cannot be determined by external conditions alone. When the security operations that protect the vital sense of inner integration in men cannot find means of participating in the control of external demands, an increase in the intensity of external rules will only drive human beings to withdrawing within themselves even at the price of destroying all vital links with the outside.

Once the strategy of alienation from reality is in effect, its course can be reversed only by internal mechanisms that seek to reconstruct the inner balance that has been broken down by stresses from within. External actions can cooperate with recovery by providing conditions in which the inner drive for reintegration can be effective, but cannot create the movement to recovery on their own. It is doubtful that the policies of the Bureau could be interpreted as permissive support tending to reinforce the inherent potential for growth that exists today in Sioux society. The levels of interaction between the

Sioux and American society have tended more--indeed almost wholly--to coerce the Indians in wanting to become Americans as immigrants have wanted to be levelled in "the melting pot." Faced with this repressive force, the Sioux have chosen to escape into a secret social world of their own that increased external demands only deepens. In their withdrawal they have experienced the effects of social disorganization, but have also achieved a confrontation with themselves from which a few of them have started to manifest their potential for contributing to the rehabilitation of their society.

The Sioux of today live between two worlds without being completely at home in either. The traditional ways of life survive behind the public facade which the Indian acquires as a device to get by in non-Indian society without committing himself to non-Indian values. In a culture in which shaming and ridicule are the most potent means of imposing traditional mores, to behave like a white man brings upon the individual the society's most devastating epithet of "son of a little white man," a commentary on a person's biological antecedents that dismisses him as being beyond contempt. On the other hand, there are no available models of Indian identity that could claim complete freedom from white influence. The remaining Sioux values operate in the isolation of intimate relations under stresses that prevent a true inner consistence.

v. Observations on the results of conflict

Caught in the conflict of two systems of values, the Sioux seems to wander in a no-man's-land in which he constantly attempts to avoid the full implications of the conflict. He picks and chooses from each system what is most expedient at the moment. A Sioux will be vindictive towards another Sioux person who refuses to share what he has in the house, but at the same time may exclude money as a non-tangible possession that he is not forced to share, particularly if he leaves it at the Agency or in the hands of a trusted white trader. He may even hide what he has to eat and present his house bare and poor to possible visitors, while in gossip he will nevertheless victimize those who were caught not sharing.

At the present time, except for a few elderly people, all Indians in these reservations consider themselves as belonging to a Christian denomination, but they still believe in the supernatural power of shamen and resort to them when modern medicine fails them, or seek revelations from the priests of the Yuwipi cult. (These men perform feats of magic and divination while in a medium-like trance, in which supernatural power which comes to them in the dark enables them to release themselves from the ropes with which they are tied. The visions induced by the mescaline in the peyote cactus are sought by an unknown number of people in the reservations who tend to continue this practice in secret, although the beating of the peyote drums are heard at night proclaiming the ceremonies of the Native American Church.

The goals and values of the white society have been presented to the Indians as aims to strive for, and until 1933, Bureau policy actively sought to assimilate the Sioux into white culture. Still, as the Sioux attempts to live by these standards he faces not only the anger of his group but the rejection of white society; that society relegates him to the status of second-class person unless he can manage to bridge in his own life the full distance between his primitive rural background and behavior in middle-class American society. This transition is in no sense an easy one for individuals who are raised in a social situation that still continues to train its members to the roles that were valued in the past.

Women lived as a subjugated social group in traditional Sioux culture. Their transition to life as captives in the reservations allowed them to carry into the new way of life their old roles of mother and wife as private affairs, left untouched for a long period after the men lost their special function of dealing with problems outside the family and the group. As they came to acquire more autonomy as the persons responsible for the maintenance and support of family life, they became even freer to continue to raise their children as they were taught children should be raised. The traditional values held by the older people reinforced the role of the mother as a cultural refuge where Sioux practices could be kept alive beyond the reach of external suppression. That refuge became increasingly more crucial as children had to be surrendered to white schools at a younger age.

From the very beginning the struggle against white domination became a battle over the children, in whom the white reformers saw malleable human beings that could be indoctrinated in the values of American society. The Sioux fought a bitter struggle over their children and tried to recreate for them the conditions of their own childhood before the children could be taken away to be trained as white men. The whole society cooperated in this struggle so successfully that even after long exposure to white schools Sioux individuals continue to choose returning to the protection of the family rather than face the problems of assimilation into white culture for which it was hoped by the white authorities their school experience would prepare them.

The attractiveness of the familial group manifests the potency of early experiences. That potency is reinforced by the mutual exclusiveness of the two societies, both of which confront the individual with an either-white-or-Indian dilemma. Material dependence on the white society and emotional dependence on the family group become the alternatives from which the growing Sioux has to choose to this day. The stresses and denials demanded from an individual growing even within one integrated cultural system are strong enough to require institutional safeguards to insure achieving and individual choice that is satisfying to the person and to the society; for the Sioux who now, as they grow, attempt to balance the conflicting demands of two mutually exclusive choices, a satisfactory resolution is nearly impossible.

Within the confines of the family, Sioux children are still raised in a permissive and supporting emotional atmosphere in which they are protected from conflict as fully as possible. The child is given as much nurturance, and for as long a period, as the parents can provide for him. Boys are encouraged and forced to be independent and aggressive. Their status as future men is very early contrasted with the more controlled and obedient role of girls. The contrast between the sexes can already be seen in toddlers; the boys scurry and babble as they explore without restraint a room where their father or mother is attending a public meeting, while the girls more often cling to their parents. The freedom that children have in a public function would be unacceptable to middle-class American parents, who train their children very early to relinquish their freedom in favor of enjoyment of things by the parents that are important to them but have no meaning to the children beyond the anger and punishment of the parents. Sioux children on the contrary grow up in the firm belief that there are few things more important to their parents than themselves.

Just as they are taught that not even the relationship of the parents to others can interfere with the love that ~~he~~ they receive~~s~~ from them, so they are also given free access to money, food, and perishable objects. A Sioux mother would rather have her child destroy an object, once he has his hands on it, rather than intervene. They will put things that can be damaged beyond the reach of children, but only before they have caught the child's attention. The adult respect for the autonomy of children is one of the more readily visible practices among the Sioux. The controlling and demanding pressures of the outside world emerge in the child's experience as independent of the parent's wishes. The capacity of the parents to provide for the children comes to be seen as limited only by an inimical and depriving outer world. The niggardliness of the government, the control by playmates, the unfriendliness of outsiders, are the main blocks to the child's needs for satisfaction.

To the extent that Sioux adults recreate for their children the nostalgic memories of their own childhood, they succeed in isolating in the child's earliest experience an image of the parents as all-giving sources to be loved and respected, undeserving of any anger he may experience for which he can find a ready target in conditions outside the family. Except under the most favorable conditions, parents will succeed only partially in creating this image. Children and adults live too close to each other to avoid frictions. The outside world cannot be a totally suppressive force; from it come the things on which the life of the family depends, and that the parents cannot produce. The child's experiences with white teachers are not all disappointing or unpleasant, so that the fiction of the completely good family or group and the total badness of the outside that his culture continues to elaborate as the person grows up, can only be believed at the expense of distorting experience.

The Sioux child for the most part succeeds in balancing his dual life up to the point in adolescence when he or she has to make his decisive choice of the path he is to follow as an adult. At this point in life, the complexity of the conflicts requires that the adolescent give up one of the two main alternatives open to him. He may choose to develop carefully his training in the ways of white society, under the constant threat of losing the ability to return to the safety of the family; or he will leave school on the birthday at which he is no longer compelled to remain as a student. A promising and respectful adolescent will turn overnight into a hostile and defiant youngster who will get together whatever money he can, to show that he can drink as much as any man.

His defiant autonomy is full of bitterness and resentment for which he finds difficulty in finding an object of blame. He will voice his anger against the government and the white society from which he had such a narrow escape, but when drunk he will more easily attack another Indian than a white person, or may destroy himself in one of the many automobile accidents on the reservation. We suspect that his conscience is not an easy one; that his sense of personal injury from the choice that has been pressed on him includes himself and his group, no matter how often he blames the injustices of white society.

Experiences such as these prepare the individual for the angry dependence that he will manifest from that date to his own society, as he may exploit others under the cover of social justice; and to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the government, the white society, from whom he will demand continued support as a victim of their domination who cannot be denied relief. Both societies contribute their share to the maladjustment of these individuals. This summary sketch is only an abstraction from manifestations of a wide range of intensity and subtlety, of the results of unresolved cultural conflicts. In the last analysis the pain and the suffering of the individual is the most important consequence of the absurdities that result as federal policies have the effect of preventing these tribes from developing, even as considerable amounts of energy, money, and feeling is spent in trying to change them, while the Sioux succeed largely in destroying themselves as they try to attack the suppressor.[4]

Sudden and drastic social change can destroy the organized system of shared beliefs, actions and values which are essential for the existence of individual personalities as meaningful entities. In the case of the Brulé and Oglala Sioux, a series of historical, economic, and cultural events have interacted to create the present living conditions in which the individual person often becomes alienated from himself and from others. Apathy, alcoholism, chronic poverty, family disorganization, absence of efficient social and political controls, delinquency, and malingering are symptomatic of the social anomie in which the Sioux individual grows up and attempts to function. All of these problems share a basic content of psychological isolation, personal withdrawal, and a sense of emotional impotence. The net result for the group as a whole is a society that finds itself cut off from the human energies that constitute its principal asset.

Sioux society as it existed in the nineteenth century was a very successful cooperative enterprise that nurtured a receptive and exploitative life style. The historical record suggests that these Teton-Dakota bands displaced themselves geographically to seek the environment in which they could carry out a way of life that was possible only under conditions of unlimited freedom. Kindred Sioux bands were left behind to find adjustment in a less expansive setting and to accommodate themselves to the impact of Western technology. Economic and political conquest suddenly interrupted this total freedom replacing it with total containment. Under the new conditions the society was no longer capable of discharging into the natural world the type of aggressive search for which it trained its members. But the emotional orientation of the culture survived in the pattern of social interactions within the group, a system of social relations that was as receptive and exploitative as the actions of the group toward the outside, but differed from the latter by the presence of an exacting and demanding mutuality within the group.

The Sioux equalitarian social ethics included an angry and hostile component that was checked by a complex system of social regulations and by the constant search for targets beyond the society. As the social life operated on the reservations without the possibility of external discharge, it became more and more a form of mutual exploitation, a hostile dependence that had always existed as a possibility in the traditional setting. The Sioux were reared under a system that overstimulated and overindulged them and then proceeded to impose a series of coercive controls on the boundless energies that had been mobilized in individuals. We have seen how these experiences made the individual almost completely dependent on the group for emotional and material support, while it recruited his energies to impose on others the attitudes and values that were the bases of their social life. In the absence of external functions Sioux society became even more invested in continuing to create the kind of person that was essential for mutual safety in interpersonal dealings.

The social roles of women and of the old continued to operate as guiding institutions for the indoctrination of Sioux individuals, but the men had no means to carry out the results of their training in successful actions. To the men were left only the memories of old glories and an empty bravado that could be effective only in their sexual roles, and even there only to the extent that women were willing to accept their own traditional sexual roles. There had been potential sources of stress in the traditional definition of sexual roles; these came into the open as the economic functions of men and women were partially reversed in captivity. At the same time the conservative voice of the old and wise was no longer challenged by the social power of the victorious warrior or the successful hunter; the role of the old as carriers of tradition became a personal identity available to successive generations of men on the reservation as they became old enough to be invested with respect: a tempting resolution for a life of impotence and conflict.

Social roles overcharged with strong feelings but empty of tangible meanings cannot withstand the test of reality. If the Sioux lead a secret life that hides their private world from the non-Indian, they also are engaged in avoiding those confrontations with each other that would challenge their precarious identities as Sioux men and women. They attempt to by-pass those situations that emphasize the lack of shared meanings in the definitions of themselves and of their place in the society. They become apathetic as they have to deny their anger, resentment, and disappointment in their relations with each other, a device that makes it possible to sustain the necessary fiction of comfortable belongingness, but that also isolates them from important elements of their own experience. Negative motivations have to find oblique expression in anti-social behavior, sanctioned exploitation of others, and attack on themselves; through these methods the individual brings back into social reality the aspects of himself that he so carefully avoids at other times. Since feelings and motives are split off from their origins in interaction, they cannot contribute to adaptive control of the conditions that create them; the individual and the society lose a main source of energy and of constructive change.

In the American government the Sioux found a new type of enemy. As long as they fought against each other, the relationship between Sioux and non-Indian appeared to be clear; the Americans were one more in a series of enemies that had to be conquered. But the American army would not play the game of war as the Sioux did; this was no periodic affair punctuated by longer lapses when the enemies withdrew to months of peaceful existence and to stealing or wheedling minor trophies from each other. Neither was the American army capable, as conquerors, of massacring the Sioux as the Sioux had always done to those they vanquished. The so-called Massacre of Wounded Knee must in all fairness be interpreted as a minor affair that left the population of the bands essentially intact. The great meaning that it has found among the Sioux is due less to the cruelty of the act, which was quite acceptable to these tribes, than to an attempt to define in retrospect the American government as the type of enemy the Sioux would understand and would know how to deal with in an encounter. The paternalistic and protective aspects of political domination faced the Sioux with a problem that they have still to resolve. The coercive, self-righteous and totalitarian aspects of the government administration of Indian affairs are obvious enough, and they provide more or less concrete attacks that can be fought or avoided. What the Sioux find particularly distressing is the remnant of humanitarian intent that remains when everything else has been accounted for. We have asked some of the most vocal Sioux revivers of past wrongs and injustices what they thought the Sioux would have done if they had been the victors, and invariably have been told, after a pause of surprise rather than shock, that they would think about it. As they responded thus they did not hide from their expression the glint of amusement one usually evidences in sharing a titillating secret with others.

The willingness of the victor to give makes the Sioux despise him even more. How is the Sioux individual to sustain the essential distance between himself and his enemy when that enemy wants to help him? To defend his own self-righteousness the Sioux must reject the blandishments and seductions that threaten to transform the outside into another valid system. As the Sioux deny the stresses of interaction with each other, they have to reject attractiveness in the conqueror, who is therefore continually redefined as vicious and destructive. They attack the American system through its very willingness to give by becoming bad products of this giving; by needing and demanding endlessly; by remaining a problem for which the outside is responsible and which the outside must resolve. These may seem harsh words when we consider that the American system, which is more willing to give than the Sioux would have been capable of giving as conquerors, often demands in exchange validation and acceptance of its own values from those that receive the help. But the fact remains that this threat to the identity of the Sioux has not been carried out through very effective or monolithic institutions. Until recently, the Sioux have chosen to manipulate the weakness of the conqueror, to achieve emotional victories against administrative windmills. The victories against the Bureau of Indian Affairs have as their only trophies the indignation, impotence, guilt, or validated self-righteousness of generations of Bureau administrators and workers. What the Sioux are beginning to realize is that this creature is so weak, not because the Sioux are so powerful and cunning, but because it is a helpless product of the social, economic, and political mechanics of the American nation. But it is also as enduring. To the extent that the Sioux today and in the future will reach into the larger society for participation in the process that controls their lives, they will achieve more real and enduring revindications. To achieve this wider participation, the Sioux will have to develop means for facing their own self-defeating strategies. The attempt of the American society to contribute to this process (beyond the material resources it can share with these tribes) will be successful if it succeeds in understanding the ways in which it has cooperated with them in destroying what neither of them would want to destroy if given a choice.

FOOTNOTES

1. MacGregor, Warriors Without Weapons, p. 63.
2. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

3. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 103.

4. Psychological flight, passive and indirect mastery, have become the Sioux's main strategy for coping with reality. Personal and social symptomatology in these reservations are striking and bizarre enough and could lead the observer to define the situation as hopeless deterioration; but the Sioux also show that as long as they survive, they will continue to strive for recovery. Psychological maladjustment, like other forms of disease, is both the result of the destructive impact of eternal events, and of the disbalance created as the organism attempts to re-establish health; the process of recovery can threaten the very organism that it attempts to defend.[a,b]

Emotional defenses under conditions of unbearable stress can be particularly dramatic since their mechanics are usually inaccessible to observation. In the last two decades we have begun to understand, and at times to use, the resources that remain available in human beings even when loss of function seems to be total and irreversible. The classic work in this field is Dr. Bettelheim's biographical account of psychological deterioration and recovery as a means of survival in German concentration camps during World War II.[c]

a. Hans Selye, The Physiology and Pathology of Exposure to Stress.

b. Karl Menninger, A Psychiatrist's World, p. 510.

c. Bruno Bettelheim, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," pp. 1-28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Friends Service Committee, Final Report of the American Friends Service Committee, Pine Ridge Reservation Program, South Dakota, January 1955-December 1958, Philadelphia, July 1959, mimeo.

Artichoker, John, Jr. and Neil M. Palmer, The Sioux Indian Goes to College, Vermillion, S.D., Institute of Indian Studies and State Department of Public Instruction, March 1959.

Bettelheim, Bruno, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 38, October 1943.

Cardwell, Warren, An Introduction to the Modern Oglala Sioux, Washington, D.C., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, 1958.

Carmichael, L., "The Experimental Embryology of the Mind," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 38, 1941.

Catlin, George, North American Indians, Edinburgh, John Grant, 1926

Dorner, Peter Paul, "The Economic Position of the American Indians: Their Resources and Potential for Development." (A doctoral thesis in Economics, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., February 1959.)

Dorsey, James O., "A Study of Siouan Cults," Annual Report of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, XI.

Eastman, M.H., Dahcotah, New York, John Wiley, 1849.

Erikson, Erik H., Childhood and Society, New York, W.W. Norton and Co., 1950.

*Hebb, O., The Organization of Behavior, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1949.

Hyde, George E., A Sioux Chronicle, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

________, Red Cloud's Folk, Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957. (2nd Ed.)

Lincoln, T.S., The Dream in Primitive Cultures, London, Cresset Press, 1935.

MacGregor, Gordon, Warriors Without Weapons, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946.

Malan, Vernon D., "The Dakota Indian Family," Bulletin 470, Brookings, S.D., Rural Sociology Department, South Dakota State College, 1958.

Malan, Vernon D. and Clinton J. Jesser, "The Dakota Indian Religion," Bulletin 473, Brookings, S.D., Rural Sociology Department, South Dakota State College, 1959.

Mead, G.H., Mind, Self, and Society, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1934.

Menninger, Karl, A Psychiatrist's World, New York, The Viking Press, 1959.

*Fey, H.E. and D. McNickle, Indians and Other Americans, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1959.

Morgan, C.T. and E. Stellar, Physiological Psychology, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1950.

Parkman, Francis, The Oregon Trail, New York, A.L. Burt Co., 1910.

Pond, Gideon H., "Dakota Supersititions," Minnesota Historical Collection, II, 1890.

Radin, Paul, The Story of the American Indian, New York, Henry Schuman, 1953.

Schusky, Ernest, "Politics and Planning in a Dakota Indian Community," Vermillion, S.D., Institute of Indian Studies, 1959.

Selye, Hans, The Physiology and Pathology of Exposure to Stress, Montreal, Acta Inc., Medical Publishers, 1950.

Sullivan, H.S., The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry, New York, W.W. Norton & Co., 1953.

Thompson, Laura, "Attitudes and Acculturation," American Anthropologist, Vol. 50, 1948.

__________, Personality and Government, Mexico, D.F., Ediciones del Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1951.

Underhill, Ruth, "Religion Among American Indians," Annals, Vol. 311, 1957.

Walker, J.R., The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota, New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1917.

Wilson, E. and Joseph Mitchell, Apologies to the Iroquois, New York, Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1959.

Wissler, C., "Societies and Ceremonial Association in the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 11, Part 1, New York, 1912.